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СТУДЕНТ
STUDENT ETUDIANT
Volume 8 No. 33
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Canada's Newspaper for Ukrainian Students

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

PERSPECTIVE '75

PROGRAMME OF THE SYMPOSIUM
"THE UKRAINIAN CANADIANS - PERSPECTIVE '75"

Faculty of Education Building,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta.

Wednesday, August 27 - Thursday, August 28, 1975

Wednesday, August 27, 1975.

9:00 AM - 10:00 AM - Registration

10:00 AM - 11:00 AM
- Opening: election of chairpersons, committees.
Opening remarks: Myron Spolsky, Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union, Toronto.

11:00 AM - 12:30 PM
- The Philosophy of Multiculturalism:
Dr. Manoly Lupul, Department of Educational Foundations, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

2:00 PM - 3:30 PM
The Implementation of the Policy of Multiculturalism:
Has the Policy of Multiculturalism supplanted the policy of biculturalism and an examination of the factors in the implementation of multiculturalism:
Marijka Hurko, Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union, Ottawa.
Funding sustems: priorities and community responsiveness:
Andriy Bandera, journalist, Toronto.

4:00 PM - 6:00 PM
Biculturalism and Multiculturalism: a comparison between the implementation of biculturalism and multiculturalism, as expressed in the recommendations of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, in the bureaucratic structures provided, and in the recommendations of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism and of the Commissioner of Official Languages:
Micheal Andrassy, Director, Multicultural Directorate, Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa.

7:30 PM - 9:00 PM
The Priorities of the Ukrainian Canadian Community:
Adult Organisations: Laurence Decore, Alderman, City of Edmonton;
Church and Youth Organisations: Yars Lozowchuk, Dauphin, Manitoba.

СУСК

ХОЧЕ

ВАС

Thursday, August 28, 1975.

9:00 AM - 12:00 PM
The Priorities of the Ukrainian Canadian Community:
The Arts: Chrystia Chomiak, Ukrainian Canadian Arts Catalogue, Toronto and Roman Onufreychuk, broadcaster, Winnipeg;
Publications: Wasyl Veryha, University of Toronto Lirarles, Toronto;
Academic Research: Prof. Peter Potichnyj, Department of Political Science, McMaster University, Hamilton.

1:00 PM - 3:30 PM
The Priorities of the Ukrainian Canadian Community:
Education: Dr. Manoly Lupul, Edmonton, and Micheal Wawryshyn, secondary school teacher, Toronto;
General Overview: Olya Kuplowsky, Ontario Educational Communications Authority, Toronto.

4:00 PM - 6:00 PM
The Community and Its Priorities:
Frank Bogdasevich, Deputy Minister, Department of Culture and Youth, Regina, Saskatchewan;
Ihor Broda, Edmonton Branch - Ukrainian Canadian Committee;
Dr. S.J. Kalba, Executive Director, National Executive, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Winnipeg;
Sheila Slobodzian, Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union, Winnipeg.

7:00 PM - ???????
Tour of the Ukrainian Archives Museum; sing-along at the Troyanda Restaurant.

в ЕДМОНТОНІ

ШІСТНАДЦЯТИЙ КОНҐРЕС СУСК-ку

СОЮЗ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ СТУДЕНТІВ КАНАДИ

СТУДЕНТ
STUDENT ETUDIANT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

The following are involved in organizing, producing and publishing "Student":

Lubomyr Szuch
Anhelyna Szuch
Martha Swidersky
Iryna Iwachiw
Maria Huska
Myron Spolsky

Думки висловлені в поодиноких статтях не обов'язково відповідають поглядам редакції чи видавництва.

Просимо висилати всі статті й листи на адресу редакції:

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STUDENT is published periodically by the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union, Suite #4, 394 Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1X4.

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Only signed articles will be accepted. The Editorial Board accepts only signed materials, and may publish them signed with initials or pseudonym if so desired by the author.

STUDENT is the newspaper for Ukrainian Canadian students. It is an open forum for articles and comments by students and for comments and criticisms by non-students.

The opinions and thoughts in this newspaper represent the particular situation in which the Ukrainian Canadian student movement finds itself, both within the Ukrainian Canadian community and within the Canadian society.

Please address all articles, letters, comments to: The Editors,
STUDENT,
Suite 4, 394 Bloor St. W.,
Toronto, Ontario,
M5S 1X4.

Редакція в Від Себе

Кінчається літо; надходить 16-тий Конгрес СУСК. Кінчається й каденція цієї редакційної колегії "Студента". В цій останній редакційній статті уважаємо важливим висловити свої думки про основні принципи, якими керувалася редакційна колегія, як також про завдання нової колегії та студентських редакційних колегій загалом. Можливо, це думки, які ми повинні були висловити в грудні 1974 року в першому числі.

Починаємо від того, що твердила кожна редакційна колегія, а саме: хоча "Студент" видається під патронатом СУСК, він не є органом Союзу Українського Студентства Канади, Конгресу СУСК, ані Національної Екзекутиви СУСК. Згідно з конституцією СУСК, "Студент" повинен служити форумом для дискусій над темами, які цікавлять українсько-канадське студентство і українсько-канадську спільноту, а головно займати передові позиції в розвитку політики багатокультурности, розвитку українсько-канадської спільноти, та в розвитку акцій оборони прав людини. Коли мова про політичні принципи, то редакційна колегія не уважає своїм завданням обстоювати якунебудь вузько-партійну ідеологію. Колегія займає становище принципового демократизму відносно стосунків у середовищах та поміж середовищами, стосунків українсько-канадської спільноти з іншими спільнотами, та стосунків між українським і неукраїнським світом.

Редакційна колегія "Студента", як і Конгрес СУСК, уважає що завданням студентської організації і студентського часопису є підносити нові теми на впливових форумах нашого суспільства. Відіграючи таку роль, студенти сприяють витворенню нових перспектив, нових ідеалів і нових мірил справедливости для суспільства. Тільки в такий спосіб витворюється динаміка розвитку, усучаснюється і відживляється суспільство. Без того творчого студентського та молодечого елементу, суспільство застоюється, завмирає, стає культурно та політично анахронічним. У відношенні до українсько-канадського, ширшого канадського та загально-українського спільнот та їхніх естаблішментів, "Студент" бачить свою роль як радикальну: порушувати справи й пропагувати зміни, як також друкувати матеріяли, замовчувані тими ж естаблішментами.

Коли мова про національну ідентичність газети, то мусимо заявити таке: ми, українсько-канадські студенти, зазнали впливів як Шевченка, Грушевського, Хвильового, Дзюби, так і Мендоналда, Рієля, Бака, Трудо. Ми однаково українці і канадці: це наша дійсність, це наша культура.

Для нас, національна чи етнічно-культурна ідентичність, це вислід багатостолітніх процесів, а українсько-канадська ідентичність, - результат процесів довгих десятиліть. Впродовж тих десятиліть виробилися мова й культура, які віддзеркалюють той процес; витворилися політичні перспективи, зумовлені суспільно-економічними та політичними переживаннями того суспільства. У політичних перспективах, мові й культурі українсько-канадської спільноти виявляється синтеза двох елементів: українського піонерського та англо-канадського.

Тому для нас, найважливіше завдання українсько-канадської спільноти, - це повноцінне самозбереження і самовизначення. Тому ми зацікавлені й у розвиткові канадського багатокультурного суспільства.

Намагаючись докладніше зрозуміти наше минуле, ми заглиблюємося як в англо-французькі традиції, так і в українські. І саме те наше зацікавлення колишньою базою нашої ідентичности - Україною - в'яже нас з усіма українськими поселеннями в світі, як також з українським народом в Україні.

Тільки постійне самовизначення такої спільноти дозволяє їй активно братн участь у житті ширшого загалу та впливати на нього. В іншому випадку, коли спільнота живе відсталою культурою, вона поволі тратить свої сили, починає сліпо реагувати на зовнішню дійсність. Така спільнота розкладається зсередини: відходить молодь, зникають ідеалн, звужуються політичні перспективи.

В українській спільноті, цей застій доводить до таких абсурдів, що деякі політичні діячі, вважаючи себе поборниками демократії та національного визволення, піддержують і входять у тісні зв'язки з найбільш жорстокими диктатурами та колоніяльними режимами; обстають ту несправедливість, яку чинив, наприклад попередній режим у Південному В'єтнамі чи ту, яку чинить теперішній у Чілі.

Цей застій доводить і до того, що наші політичні середовища здебільшого виявляють нетерпимість до поглядів і тенденцій, незгідних з їхніми власними. Рівнож ці середовища нездібні сприймати критику зі сторони студентів чи навіть від власних членів. Критична дискусія, яка може і мусить вестися логічно і безпристрасно, перетворюється в емоційну полеміку, мовляв, наша молодь підпала під вплив маоізму, кастроізму чи іншого "-ізму", а її критика, це праця опортуністів і т.п.

Тому повторюємо, що відповідальністю редакційної колегії "Студента" було в цьому році критикувати ті почини українських організацій, які не покривалися з принципом демократичности і відкритої дискусії. Віримо, що нова редакційна колегія рівнож спровокуватиме цю відповідальність.

Коли мова про українсько-канадські установи та організації, то мусимо звернути увагу на великий поступ українсько-канадської спільноти: це сталося завдяки як політиці багатокультурности, так і тим організаціям, які беруть повноцінну участь у розвитку тієї політики. Мусимо, одначе, остерегтися перед надто великою залежністю від урядових фондів, які пізніше можуть бути відмовлені: тому закликаємо організації покладатися у великій мірі на громадські фонди. Інша проблема, яка постає у зв'язку з урядовими фондами для громадських проектів, це заглушення критики уряду з боку громади та організацій. Таких випадків ми спостерігали декілька, і рекомендуємо, щоб нова редакційна колегія рішуче виступала проти цього. Так само не можемо допускати до того, щоб члени екзекутив громадських організацій ставали активними членами канадських **політичних** партій. Така практика може мати погані наслідки для нашого суспільства.

Кінчаючи це, наше останнє редакційне слово, хочемо подякувати всім співпрацівникам, як також тим індивідам і підприємствам, які фінансово уможливили видавання "Студента".

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

June 4, 1975

The Editors,
STUDENT.

I enclose herewith a copy of my letter to the ABN Correspondence protesting against their pirating and falsification of my review of Report From The Beria Reserve, along with a copy of the letter I sent to the editors of America, which reprinted the falsified version of my book review.

Yours very truly,
Marilyn J. Vogt.

June 4, 1975

ABN Correspondence
Bulletin of the Antibolshvik Bloc of Nations
8 Munchen 80
Zeppelinstrasse 67/0
Germany

To Whom It May Concern:

It has been called to my attention that you published a book review with my name on it in your January - February 1975 issue. Your publication ran the review under the heading "Moroz Fighting Russian Chauvinism, Marilyn Vogt About Valentyn Moroz" followed by the publication data on the Cataract Press edition (although you omitted the name of the publishing house) of Valentyn Moroz's collected writings edited by John Kolasky which I did, in fact, write a review of.

The full text of the review I wrote appeared in the Intercontinental Press, September 9, 1974 under the heading "Writings of A Stubborn Ukrainian". An abbreviated version of this review was published in The Militant, August 9, 1974 under the heading "Protest writings of a Soviet dissident". Both the Intercontinental Press and The Militant are U.S. periodicals presenting the views of revolutionary socialism, views which I uphold. You did not ask for permission to reprint this book review in you publication and if you had asked, of course, permission would have been denied.

But you went beyond simply pirating my book review and consequently creating the false impression that I had submitted the review to you for publication in your bulletin. You stole the review and then falsified it to serve your own reactionary purposes—the same way that Stalin and his heirs in the Kremlin have falsified documents which would not otherwise eerve their purposes. You falsified not only by changing and eliminating words, but by eliminating whole paragraphs which discussed the differences between Lenin's and Stalin's policies toward non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union or which discussed the position of and quoted Leon Trotsky in support of the struggles of the Ukrainian people in opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy. (It is, of course, not in your interest to publish the truth about wha what Lenin and Trotsky represented and upheld.) But you did not stop there.

You even falsified a quotation from Moroz himself whom you hypocritically claim to defend.

I am sure your editors are aware of precisely what I speak of, but for the record, I will document the nature of the changes you made by contrasting the authentic version that appeared in The Militant with your falsified version. I have underlined the word or words in the original review which you deleted. The word or words you substituted are in brackets. Page and paragraph citations refer to the place where the falsifications appear in your version in the January - February 1975 bulletin.

1. Paragraph 4, p. 30:

   And this small group was to produce some of the most politically sophisticated anti-Stalinist but prosocialist [and national] literature to make its way abroad in the past decade.

2. Paragraph 5, same page:

   This particular essay of Moroz's concerns the activity of the most prominent figure in this generation of radicals, Ivan Dzyuba, who in his book Internationalism or Russification? criticized the Stalinist policy toward non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union —that is, Russification—from a Leninist [national] point of view.

3. Paragraph 6, same page:

   Written in 1965, Internationalism or Russification? was an inspiration to young Ukrainians to fight in the name of socialist [freedom and] democracy against the political repression and the Russian chauvinism of the ruling bureaucracy.

4. On page 34, after paragraph 2, you omitted the following quotation from Moroz himself which I had included and which exemplifies Moroz's understanding of the differendes between Lenin's and Stalin's positions on the national question. Moroz was responding to Dzyuba's 1970 statement: "I reject the term 'nationalist' regardless of how it is interpreted..."

   Moroz wrote, "It is difficult to beleive this. Absolute rejection of nationalism 'regardless of how it is interpreted', is Stalin's not Lenin's theses. Lenin never took such a stand. Lenin, as is known, interpreted the nationalism of an oppressed nation in a positive sense. Here Dzyuba not only departs from Lenin but from himself. (Report from the Beria Reserve, pp. 106-7.)

5. Second complete paragraph, p. 32:

   Whom will it inconvenience if the masses of Soviet people [subjugated nations] begin to fight for their democratic rights, Moroz ask asks.

6. Paragraph 7, p. 32, a quotation from Moroz taken from a Declaration Moroz wrote, in May 1968 while in the KGB prison in Kiev, to Petro Shelest who was then First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist party:

   "Will today's Ukrainian Communists succeed in finally resurrecting Lenin's [previous] policy of Ukrainianization and declare a decisive war against Russian chauvinism in Ukraine?" (Report from the Beria Reserve, p. 125.)

To falsify the writings and ideas of a person like myself, who can at least protest, is repugnant enough. But far worse is the falsification of the writings of Moroz, who is unlikely to have an opportunity to protest because he has been imprisoned for refusing to renounce these very ideas you so callously distort.

7. Last paragraph of your version, p. 33:

   Moroz is furthering the process of building a movement in Ukraine of workers, students, and intellectuals who will fight to abolish the repressive Stalinist bureaucracy and restore socialist democracy [national independence] in Ukraine.

8. You then simply cut off the final paragraph and concluding sentence which appeared in the original:

   In 1939, Trotsky expressed what the attitude of a revolutionist must be toward the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the oppression of the Stalinist bureaucracy: "Of importance to me is your attitude toward your national destiny and not the 'socialist' sophistries of the Kremlin police; I will support your struggle for independence with all my might!"

   The same holds true today.

The political motivations for the distortions and omissions you chose are abvious. It goes without saying that for doing this you stand condemned as unethical, to say the least.

I demand that you immediately publish this letter in full in your bulletin, ABN Correspondence. There can be no doubt that Moroz's fight is only made more difficult when his ideas—progressive, humanist, and opposed to all forms of human oppression—are distorted and misrepresented as being in favor of anti-human and reactionary ideals you stand for.

I await your response.

Marilyn J. Vogt

СИМПОЗІУМ ПРО РУХ СПРОТИВУ В УКРАЇНІ

/ІС СУСК/ В Торонті відбувся Симпозіум Про Рух Спротиву В Україні, на Університеті Йорк, 4-го, 5-го і 6-го липня. Симпозіум був зорганізований Союзом Українського Студентства Канади. На симпозіум прибуло 120 учасників із різних осередків в Канаді та Амервці.

Підчас симпозіум були розглянуті різні аспекти руху опору в Радянському Союзі, а особливо в Україні. Слідуючі ввступили з доповідями: проф. Богдан Боцюрків 8Університет Карітон/ який представив релігійну проблему в русі опору, проф. Микола Богатюк /ЛеМойн Каледж, Сиракюз/ який представив доповідь про економічні чинники які впливають на рух спротвву, Марко Бойцун /Торонто/ який представив загальний огляд про рух спротвву в Східній Европі та в Радянському Союзі і їхній вплив на рух спротиву в Україні, Меланія Чайковська /Ню Йорк/ яка розглянула проблематику жінки в Радянському Союзі, Мирослав Дяковський /Гамильтон/ який розглянув ділянку інформаційних каналів від Заходу до Радянського Союзу, Джек Айзнер /Канадський Союз Жидівських Студентів/ розглянув акцій в обороні жидівських політв'язвів, Роман Купчинський /Ню Йорк/ зосередився над політичним аспектом руху спротиву, Оля Купловська розглянула політичиой думки серед жіноцтва в Радянському Союзі, проф. Роман Сербин /Квебецький Університет/ розглянув національний аспект руху спротиву, Мирослав Шкандрій /Торонтонський Університет/ розглянув літературно-культурний аспект руху спротиву, та Еббі Вайсфелд /Торонто/ розглянув жидівський рух спротиву в Україні та загально в Радянському Союзі.

Відбулася зустріч представників комітетів оборони Радянських політв'язнів. Підчас зустрічі відбулася дискусія над проведеними акціями. Слідуючі звітували про працю поодиноких комітетів: Адріян Каратницький з Комітету Оборони Радянських Політв'язнів /Ню Йорк/, Христина Хом'як з Комітету Акції Оборони Прав Жінки в СРСР /Торонто/, Мирон Спольський, СУСК, Данило Ткач з Комітету Оборони Людських Прав в СРСР /Чікаго/, Андрій Бандера з Комітету Оборони Валентина Мороза /Торонто/, та Стефан Вельгаш з Комітету Оборони Валентина Мороза /Вінніпег/.

Симпозіум був успішний з того огляду що разом із аналізою та дискусією про важливість праці в обороні політв'язнів, та про нові тактики та спів-праці поміж цими комітетами, учасники краще запізналися з ціллістю руху спротиву в СРСР та його різними аспектами.

Національна Екзекутива СУСК проголосила що такий рід симпозіум буде повтрюваний в наступному році щоби дозволити діяльним членам комітетів та зацікавленому громадянстві сходитися та обговорювати сучасну проблематику України та проводити ширшу координацію праці в обороні людських прав в СРСР.

SUSK presented a resolution on political prisoners at the Fourth Annual General Meeting of the Ontario Students' Federation which was held at McMaster University last May 29th.

The resolution was presentaed by the York University Students' Council delegation. The resolution asks the OFS to publicize their support for the three imprisoned political prisoners; Valentyn Moroz, Leonid Plyushch and Jiri Muller. The resolution also asks the OFS to call upon the governments of the USSR and the Czechoslovak S.R. to release the three from their unjust imprisonment and inhumane treatment.

This is the first time that a provincial educational institution has adopted a resolution dealing witht the repressions in the USSR and Czechoslovak S.R.

The presentation of this resolution by SUSK is part of the SUSK Defense Campaign on behalf of political prisoners in the USSR as well as other east European countries. One of the most important sections of this campaign is involving all sectors of society in defense work.

Prior to the acceptance of the resolution on political prisoners by the OFS, various arguments were put forth contending that "this (political repression) is not a student issue" and that lack of information and 'confirmation' of such material on repressions were not available.

SUSK urges all University Student Councils to adopt similiar resolutions in the future, thereby involving the entire student community at universities across Canada.

RESOLUTION

Paesed at the Fourth Annual General Conference of the Ontario Federation of Students, May 29, to June 1, 1975. McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.

Motioned by the Council of York Student Federations on behalf of tbe Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union
Seconded by the Trent University Student Union.

Whereas, political persecution and attacks on civil liberties have not been confined to one block of countries, and have become increasingly common and more intenaive, and

Whereas, it is particularly regrettable that in the countriee of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R., the tendency to solve political disputes by administrative and repressive measures has become more acute, putting elementary liberties into queetion once more, and

Whereae, oppression in any country diminiehes humanity everywbere, and

Whereas, oppreseion in e country with a socialist constitution ie a particular challenge to the conscience of the rest of the world since these countries aim themselves to be both democratic and advanced in the field of human rights; and

Whereas, Jiri Müller was a member of the Czechoslovak Youth Union before 1968, working for the decentralisation and democratisation of thie body, and

Whereas, Jiri Müller was a leading figure in the formulation of the programmatic statement of the National Student Conference in 1965, also adopted by the Czechoalovak Youth Union and tbe Czechoslovak Student Union, calling for a return to the norms of socialist democracy in the Czecboslovak Socialist Republic, and

Whereas, Müller was a leading force in the organisation of student - worker - intellectual support in the struggle for tbe democratisation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1968, and

Whereas, he became the initiator of student - worker co-operation that turned into a mass movement against the policy of appeasing the forces of occupation, and organised a populer boycott of the national elections in 1971, and

Whereas, Jiri Müller was arrested in 1971 and sentenced in the summer of 1972 to 5½ years for activitiee aimed at tha subversion of the Republic; and

Whereas, Leonid Plyushcb, a cyberneticist in the U.S.S.R., waa among the many who signed petitions to party and government leaders protesting the arrests and repreeeione of workers, etudents and intellecutale in the mid 1960'e, and

Whereas, Plyushch has repeatedly criticised the party and government retreats from the norms of socialist democracy and called for a return to socialist legality, and became a member of the "Initiative Group for Defense of Human Rights in the U.S.S.R.", and

Whereae, he was arrested in January 1972 for having in hie poeeession some unpubliehed materials, for writing articles judged to be "anti-Soviet", for membership in the "Initiative Group", and for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, and

Whereae, he was sentenced in January 1973 to an indefinite term at institutes for foreneic psychiatry to cure what was termed "schizophrenia with messianic and reformist tendencies", and

Whereae, he was not allowed to be present at his own trial, nor were witnesses testifying on hie behalf allowed to enter the courtroom, and

Whereae, due to injections of uncontrolled doaes of haloperidol and insulin, he has become phyeically debilitated to the point where be can no longer move, read or write, and

Whereas, Valentyn Moroz is a Soviet Ukrainian historian, specialising in tbe history of workers' movements in Western Ukraine, and

Whereas, he has stressed the defense of righte and dignity of man before the unprincipled and limitless cruelty of a dictatorship, and tbe struggle for the survival of a cultural element within man, and

Whereae, Valentyn Moroz has pointed to the re-birth of national self-consciousness of national groups in the U.S.S.R. within tbe bounds of socialist norms, and

Whereae, Moroz has twice been arrested and sentenced for hie criticisms and activitiea, initially in 1965, and later in 1972,

Be it resolved, that the Fourtb Annual General Meeting of the Ontario Federation of Studente calls upon the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Czecbosloval Socialist Republic to releaee Leonid Plyushcb and Valentyn Moroz, and Jiri Muller from the unjuet imprisonment,
calle upon the Canadian government to intercede on behalf of the three impriaoned, and
publiahes articles in the "Ontario Student" outlining the support of OFS for Jiri Müller, Leonid Plyushch, and Valentyn Moroz.

SUSK DISCUSSION PAPER ON UKRAINE.

The following discussion paper is presented in three parts: the history of the opposition in Ukraine, defense work in the West, and proposals for SUSK defense work in 1975-76.

HISTORY of the OPPOSITION in Ukraine

Until the early 1960's opposition in Ukraine was concentrated in the western regions of the republic. These regions were never part of the Tsarist empire and as a result national consciousness developed more quickly there than in the eastern regions of Ukraine. After the incorporation of Galicia into the Polish state, Ukrainians developed independent political activity in their struggle against the Polish regime. Widespread popular resistance had developed when the Soviet authorities seized this territory. Evidence of this resistance is seen in the various groupings that emerged during and after Khruschev's era. For example, the United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine, the Ukrainian National Committee, the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, and the Ukrainian National Front. Members of these groupings were arrested and persecuted by the Soviet regime which accused them of "bourgeois nationalism". Yet these groups did not defend "bourgeois nationalism" but national values which they counter-posed to the official policy of Russification.

Western Ukraine has remained sensitive to political movements in Eastern Europe. The impact of the "Prague Spring" on the western Ukrainian population was considerable since they were exposed to Ukrainian radio broadcasts in Cxechoslovakia.

After Khruschev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956, the facts of Stalin's era were transformed into subjects for discussion and analysis. Shortly after Khruschev's consessions to the national aspirations of Ukrainians, a re-newed campign the national demands of the non-Russian nations was initiated. Khruschev, who had previously promised to restore the Leninist Nationalities Policy launched a policy of great Russian chauvinism. Another wave of de-stalinization took place after the Twenty-second Party Congress in 1961. His intention was to use 'de-stalinization' in a factional struggle against opposition to him in the party. This 'de-stalinization' permitted greater liberty in expression but also encouraged the policy of Russification. With the removal of Khruschev from power in 1964, vocal protest against Russian chauvinism mounted only to be quickly stamped out.

Intellectuals took the lead in pressing for a more complete de-stalinization in the USSR. This sector of the population adopted a socio-political role which partially consisted of the task of curtailing arbitrariness and police terror by the development of some measure of the rule of law. Because it was necessary to work within the Soviet system a demoralising number of compromises had to be made and the accoplishment of this task proved to be difficult. As the direct result of a series of arrests in the USSR, a movement emerged with the general aim of democratising the Soviet society. The movement's unity lay in the stress placed on the importance of law as an instrument through which to promote a democratised-socialist state in which civil rights are secured. Diverse tendencies within the movement united and took a common stand on the question of the Soviet Constitution.

An unofficial publication appeared in the USSR as a result of the democratic movement, called the Chronicle of Current Events, in which factual documents reveal the mainstream of the movement. A Ukrainian equivalent of the 'Chronicle' the Ukrainian Herald appeared sometime later.

In September of 1965, two weeks before the arrests of the Russian dissidents, Sinyavsky and Daniel, a number of political statements were issued regarding these arrests.

The dissident movement which developed in Ukraine consisted mostly of a group of writers - 'shestydesiatnyky'. This generation of writers had grown up during Khruschev's period of relative 'liberalization'. Ukraine experiened a revival in its cultural life and these qriters developed art forms which had been totally suppressed since the introduction of the 1932 literary doctrine - 'socialist realism'. These people led the effort for a re-assertion of national and political identity. Their works focused on the national predicament of the Ukrainian people and also protested social injustices and restriction of civil liberties.

The Ukrainian movement's aims were similar to the broader democratic movement, with an emphasis on the re-establishment of Ukrainian as the dominant language in Ukraine. The movement's work was based on the resolution

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META

a new Ukrainian left-wing journal

Meta is a forum for left-wing analysis and discussion on the Ukrainian question, eastern Europe and related international issues. It is published four times a year in Toronto, Canada.

IN THE FIRST ISSUE OF META:

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* Dossier: Chile and Eastern Erope.
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of the party congresses, the party program, the works of Lenin, the Soviet Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

All the Ukrainian trials of 1965-66 were successfully concealed from the West until the appearance of Vyacheslav Chornovil's documentation of the arrests reached the West, a year later. Chornovil was arrested and sentenced to three years of hard labour for compiling these documents.

As a response to these arrests in which the accused were labelled as "nationalists", Ivan Dzyuba, a Ukrainian literary critic wrote a petition to Ukrainian governmental leaders along with a document that analyzed the national question in Ukraine. In this polemical essay, entitled Internationalism or Russification?. Dzyuba shows that the anxiety felt by a widening circle of Ukrainian youth was the result of Stalin's and Khruschev's abandonment of the Leninist Nationalities Policy. The author examines the Soviet government's nationalities policy from a Marxist-Leninist point of view and concludes that the Russian great power chauvinism strives to engulf all other nationalities.

Lenin's policy of equality for all nationalities is embodied in the Soviet constitution. Yet political awareness, a concern for social justice and a flourishing of culture has been associated with "nationalism". Dzyuba's debate in his writings poses the question of who is the chauvinist: the Russian who imposes his lanuage and culture on other nations, or the nations themselves who wish to preserve their language and culture.

The intensification of the repression against dissent in Ukraine had the effect of escalating dissent. Clandestine publications began to circulate and became the chief medium for the dissidents' political ideas.

In 1971-72, large scale persecution measures were carried out. The arrests were carried out secretely and coincided with the CPSU Central Committee resolution to suppress all eamizdat publications. A series of strikes by Ukrainian workers were carried out during this period of arrests, e.g. Kiev, May-1973 where a strike of 30,000 workers occurred at the Kiev Automobile Factory, protesting the cut in their wage premiums.

The question of political autonomy of Ukraine has existed for more than three centuries. The emergence of a distinct and modern Ukrainian language and literary culture in the nineteenth century has evoked repressive Russian chauvinism ever since.

DEFENSE WORK in the WEST

The Ukrainian communities in the West responded to the massive arrests by forming various groups in defense of democratic and human rights of political prisoners in the USSR.

One of the first groups to take initiative in defending democratic rights in the USSR was the Toronto based Committee for the Release of Valentyn Moroz (not to be confused with the more recent Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz). This committee was formed by various individuals belonging to SUSK, in January, 1971. The committee took upon itself to publicize the plight of political prisoners, such as Valentyn Moroz, and to urge governmental officials to make presentations on behalf of Moroz and other political prisoners. The original members of this committee split from the committee and formed the 'Set Them Free' committee, later that year. Both of these committees elicited widespread support from the Canadian public and brought the public's attention to the repressive measures in the USSR. The 'Set Them Free' committee published five issues of their "Bulletin" in which the developments in Ukraine are documented. Towards the end of 1974, the 'STF' committee re-named itself the Working Group on Ukraine. This group focuses its activities on doing research and studies on the question of Ukraine.

Action For Women's Rights in the USSR ie a Toronto based committee whose purpose is to study, research and publicize the plight of women political prisoners in the USSR. The committee was formed in January, 1975 and is open to anyone in agreement with the necessity in defending democratic rights of women political prisoners in the USSR.

With the second arrest of Valentyn Moroz in 1973, the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz (Toronto) was formed in February, 1974. This committee has as its main aim the publicization of the plight of Moroz and the eventual release of this dissident. The committee is not in line with any one political viewpoint. It maintains contact with Soviet dissidents, such as Sakharov. The group has successfully obtained maximum publicity in defense of Moroz yet no concrete committment was obtained from any of the governments.

The Chicago Committee in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR has been actively involved in the defense of all national and social liberation struggles throughout the world. It's activities include holding meetings, speaking rours and publishing pamphlets. The committee's political base is anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist and in defense of all political prisoners.

The New York Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners was formed in 1972 in response to the wave of arrest in Ukraine in that same year. The committee's activities stress the importance of defending democratic rights internationally.

While it is popular among Ukrainian nationalist groups in the West to direct the emotions of Ukrainian Canadians against the Russian people, the repressive policies in the USSR are not carried out by the Russian people but by the Soviet bureaucracy. The positions of the Ukrainian nationalist organisations are presented in chauvinist-anti-communist-anti-Russian terms. They tend to contort the politics of dissidents to their particular right-wing needs of recruitment.

Having been placed in this position, confronted with several political groupings in the right which use both the Ukrainian Canadian mass and the oppositional currents in the USSR for their own purpose while isolating and ostracising all those who attempt to present the issues in a different interpretation. SUSK must organise a movement to open a debate both within the Ukrainian Canadian community and in the universities/colleges. This debate must centre on the demand of democratic rights for political prisoners in the USSR and on an understanding of the various oppositional currents and its implications in an international context.

The suppression of the development of the nationalities as individual socio-cultura-economic units within the USSR has not received exposure in North America. The question of nationality and society are indivisible and one cannot treat one without treating the other. The problem of the economic status of an individual in the Soviet system is tied in directly to the individual's nationality.

In this light, it must be SUSK's role to present the question of Ukraine to Ukrainian Canadians in a non-prejudiced manner. It must be pointed out that the issue of Ukraine is not only a Ukrainian issue, nor is the problem present in Ukraine, confined only to that area of the world. The problems in Ukraine are international. Our own involvement in this issue must be as individuals for whom of all the issues, this one is closest to our own heritage, without over-riding any other issues which confront us. The question of Ukraine should give us the responsibility of coming into closer ties with those individuals and groups who are attempting to make similar impressions upon this community in the case of other liberation struggles.

PROPOSALS for SUSK DEFENSE WORK in 1975-76

SUSK's activities in the past year have been of an academic nature. Due to the limited effect this has had on the Canadian community SUSK must broaden and intensify its defense work in the upcoming year. The situation in Ukraine is critical and must be acted upon immediately.

1) Educational seminars: clubs shall attempt to initiate educational seminars from time to time, on the question of Ukraine.

2) Speaker Tours: by individuals who have a good understanding of the Ukraine question and which appeal to the broad left-liberal milieu. These tours can be arranged on an national scale thru SUSK or on a regional scale thru local groups doing defense work.

3) The National Executive of SUSK shall appear at the upcoming National Union of Students (NUS) conference with a resolution in defense of Plyushch, Müller and Moroz. SUSK shall circulate this resolution to all student clubs. Students should attempt to have the student council adopt a similar resolution, and committ themselves to publicizing this resolution in the campus newspaper.

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ON THE 16th SUSK CONGRESS

This year, the 16th SUSK Congress will be taking place in Edmonton at the University of Alberte, between August 27 and September 1. Besides all the fun, joys of living it up for a while, and waking up in the morning to the sounds of someone saying "Hey man got some aspirin" and "good morning Mr. Susk, it's 7:30, the vans for the Congress will be leaving at 8:30", this year's Congress is divided into two very important sections. SO DON'T TURN THE PAGE TO ANOTHER STORY IN THIS NEWSPAPER BECAUSE YOU'LL GET HAMMERED OVER THE HEAD BY A LITTLE DOEHICKEY IN THAT PICTURE YOU'RE TRYING TO FIND.

The first two days of the Congress are given to a symposium on the state of the Ukrainian Canadian community, called "Ukreinian Canadians - Perspective '75". The symposium will deal with the state of the community within the perametre of the last five years, and in perticular how it has developed since the ennouncement of the policy of multiculturalism. Among the issues to be examined are: the developing philosophy of multiculturalism; the differences between the implementation of multiculturalism and biculturalism; factors involved in the development of multiculturalism; the priorities of the Ukreinian Canadian community, including the areas of the arts, education, publishing, youth organisations, adult organisations; and the potential of the community in the development of these areas.

During last year's SUSK Congress in Winnipeg, it became quite evident that we have reached a stage in the development of the policy, where we have no outlook on how the policy should further develop. While it is true that we have not reached (by far) any conclusive stage of development, both within end in terms of government input into the policy, we should and must endeavour to develop new insights, as to how this mustbe done, why and how government should increase (and not decreese) their efforts at the implementetion of the policy. As well, we will have to examine the crucial question of how the implementation of this policy compares with the implementation of the policy of biculturalism: some questions must now be posed whether the government is only dangling the policy of multiculturelism es an election gimic, and whether it really isn't pursuing the policy of biculturaliem. Finally, an examination of the factors involved in the development of the policy will take place.

The second part of the Congress, that is the part that is really the Congress (if you can understend that reasoning) will be dealing strictly with SUSK. During those three or four days, we will be examining the role of SUSK in terms of its own internal structures, in terms of the community. A proposal for constitutional chnage will be made, in order to allow the organisational structure to keep pace with the organisational needs. All the eessions are very closely inter-related: the outgoing executive will be presenting a general framework that it envisages for SUSK, make suggestions as to the analyses and resolutions of the several areas of SUSK activities (multiculturalism, human rights, community development, cultural activities, club development, finances), and then adopt the constitutional changes.

As well, like elways, we will be electing e new national executive during the congress.

In the last couple of years, our Congresses have really blossomed, and just like with the Olympics, every city has tried to outdo the previous ones. Having seen what the Organising Committee has already prepared, we know that this one will be bigger and better than any before it - but believe it or not, it is going to a lot cheaper to be at this year's Congress than ever before.....so come and join us.

MORE UKRAINIAN COURSES 1975 - 76

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

1. GENERAL COURSES

52.091 Introductory Ukrainian
Basic grammar, conversation, composition, and language laboratory. Students who have taken Grade 12 Ukrainian are not entitled to credit for 91.
Instructors; I. Tarnawecky, A. Krawchenko

52.125 Intermediate Ukrainian
Grammar review, syntax, composition (two hours), and language laboratory; introduction to Ukrainian literature and literary study based on selected works in prose and poetry (two hours). Prerequisite: 91 or Grade 12 Ukrainian or consent of Department.
Instructor: J. Rozumnyj

52.127 Conversational Ukrainian
A course in directed conversation on current topics and contemporary life for etudents desiring to achieve oral fluency and correctness of pronunciation. Individual speeches on assigned topics will be required. The course will include dictations, reading, and interpretation of appropriate selections. Regular attendance and active participation ere obligatory. May not be used for Major or Minor credit in Ukrainian. Prerequisite: 91 or Grade 12 Ukrainian or equivalent knowledge of the language.
Instructor: S. Yurikiwsky

52.234 History of Ukrainian Literature
A study of literary development including the period of Stylistic Simplicity, Ornamental style; Renaissance and Reformation, Baroque, Classicel, Romantic, and Futuristic periods as illustrated by representative works. Prerequisite: 125 or consent of Department.
Instructor: I. Tarnawecky

52.237 Advanced Ukrainian
Concentration will be on language, advanced syntax, conversation, and essay Writing. Reading and discussion of ehort stories; selected poetry and plays translation from and to Ukrainian; discussion of chosen topics; language laboratory. Prerequisite: 125 or consent of Department.
Instructor: I. Tarnawecky

52.349 Church Slavic in Ukrainian Redaction
An introduction to the study of Church Slevic in the Ukrainian redaction and its basic sources. Rudiments of grammar. Reading end translationof selected texts. Prerequisite: 237 or consent of Department.
Instructor: G. Mulyk- Lucyk

52.350 Nineteenth-Century Ukrainian Literature
A critical study of selected works of the major writers in prose, poetry, and drama. Emphasis will be placed on Shevchenko, Franko, Ukrayinka, Kotsyubynsky, Stefanyk, and others. Prerequisite: 125 or consent of Department.
Instructor: J. Rozumnyj

52.352 Ukrainian Polemical Literature
A study of the main currents of religious and ideological thought and expression through the analysis of representative works of the 16th and following centuries. Prerequisite: 237 or consent of Department.
Instructor: G. Mulyk-Lucyk

II. HONOURS COURSES

52.240 Ukrainian Folklore
A study of Ukrainian folklore based on analysis of folk poetry, "Dumy". folk songs, rituals, customs and mythology. Prerequisite: consent of Department.
Instructor: J. Rozumnyj

52.351 Ukrainian Drama from the 17th to 20th Centuries
A study of trends and representative works beginning with the School Drama of the 17th century to the drama of modern times. Prerequisite: consent of Department.
Instructor: J. Rozumnyj

52.440 Old Church Slavic
Introductions to medieval and Slavic paleography; Glagolithic and Cyrillic alphabets; phonetic and morphological features; Church Slavic elements in contemporary Russian, Ukrainian, and other Slavic languages. Prerequisite: Consent of Department.
Instructor: J. B. Rudnyckyj

III. CRADUATE COURSES

Head: J.B. Rudnyckyj
The Department offers coursework leading to the Master of Arts degree.

GENERAL SLAVIC
52.704 Methodology of Research

52.705 Selected Topics in Slavic Philology

UKRAINIAN
52.730 Selected Topics in Ukrainian Literature

NOTES ON IMMIGRATION

by YURI DASCHKO

A talk delivered to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's (Ontario Provincial Council) Conference on Immigration held June 7, 1975 in Toronto.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As you all know my topic today is the Green Paper on Immigration, or as it is officially referred to, the Canadian Immigration and Population Study. But before actually discussing the Green Paper per se, a number of other points must be mentioned. This is the result of the fact that the Green Paper is lacking in certain respects.

First of all the Green Paper is part of a general study of what the direction of Canada's population should be. Unfortunately, by first coming out with the immigration study rather than the population study, the government has placed the proverbial cart before the horse. How can one logically discuss and decide upon a specific part of a policy if one does not know what the overall policy will be. In this case an immigration policy is only one aspect of an overall population policy. What will happen if the final population policy's demographic guidelines conflict with Canada's immigration policy as expressed in legislation in early 1976? Thus, logically, it would appear that a final decision on immigration policy will have to wait until after a population policy has been decided upon.

Notwithstanding this fact, the Green Paper itself is lacking in certain important respects.

Whereas, the White Paper on Immmigration, in 1966, recognized that immigration must be considered in its relation to the economy and the quality of life, the Green Paper merely takes a detailed look at economics.[1] For example, governmental policy states that Canada is a multicultural society. Yet the Green Paper manages to discuss immigration without ever considering its effect on multiculturalism. In fact, multiculturalism is mentioned only in passing.[2]

Also, the social and cultural consequences of different levels of immigration and population are not discussed in the Paper. For example, the consequences of different population sizes for Canadian magazines, the movie industry, book publishers, the quality of universities are not even mentioned.

The paucity of the Green Paper in this respect makes it an incomplete document. But even so it does raise some important questions. Before looking at these questions, I would like to outline what the Green Paper is, technically speaking.

The first volume is called Immigration Policy Perspectives. This booklet analyzes major policy problems and discusses future approaches.

The Immigration Program is the title of the second volume. It outlines the present and past management of immigration.

Volume Three contains a comprehensive set of statistics in regards to immigration and population development. Its title is Immigration and Population Statistics.

The final volume, Three Years in Canada, contains the initial report of a survey on the economic and social adaption of immigrants to life in Canada.

In addition to these four volumes, there are also a number of surveys available. However, these surveys are not part of the official Green Paper.

It is thus readily apparent that the size of the Green Paper does not allow for a thorough analysis of its contents under the present circumstances. As a result of this, I have concentrated my analysis on certain points that are mentioned in the first volume. Since the previous speakers have dealt with the functioning of the present system, I shall be looking at immigration from a broader perspective.

As I mentioned earlier it is necessary to view immigration as being part of an overall population policy. Though the Green Paper does not discuss population policy in-depth, it does recognize the importance of population changes.

> The complex dynamics of population change are interwoven with the organization of the economy, the quality of life in our cities, and the provision of public services. They exert a pervasive influence on the political and cultural evolution of our society as a whole. They affect decisions about how we should plan the use of our land and resources, protect our environment, and overcome disparities...in the opportunities available to individuals or sectors of the Canadian community.[3]

Since net immigration will be the deciding factor in the growth of Canada's population in the near future, it is necessary to know what size of population Canada should have before we can decide on the number of immigrants that should be allowed into Canada.[4]

In this regard, according to the booklet Public Consultation on Population Questions, it can be generally stated that:

> No matter where a country is with respect to the ultimate limits to growth, a higher population growth rate means a more rapid depletion of domestic and international resources; greater pressures on the environment, more dependence on continued rapid technological developments to solve these problems; less time to overcome the social institutional and political barriers to progress; fewer social options and a continued postponement of the resolution of the problems caused by past growth.[5]

Some analysts feel that Canada is already overpopulated in terms of population size, per capita resource consumption, and the carrying or support capacity of the Canadian ecosystem. Yet it is difficult to state this with any certainty.

Nonetheless, a number of points are clear. Large sections of Canada cannot support significant numbers of people. In fact, one-third of Canada's land mass, the North, has an extremely fragile ecosystem, thus making the support of a large population difficult and potentially dangerous. Those areas which have this support capability (about 17% of Canada's area) are already extensively populated.[6] Thus the general implication is that, at the most, Canada can handle a moderate increase in its present population.

Some analysts take an even more extreme position, advocating zero population growth. This is an impossible demand for the present. Even without net immigration, the Canadian population would not stabilize until the early years of the coming century (given the present low fertility rate, which is below the "replacement level" for Canada).[7] However, it is impossible to totally stop net immigration.

According to Dr. Freda Hawkins, Canada closed to immigration would be subject to major world pressures and widely criticized in international circles. Also Canada's indefensible borders might be breached by countless illegal immigrants.[8] As an editorial in the Calgary Herald stated "It [immigration] isn't a matter of whether but how."[9] In other words, Canada will have immigration, legal or illegal, no matter what it does to keep immigrants out. Therefore the question is how much immigration do we allow and how do we control it.

The Green Paper barely acknowledges the "traditional arguments" in favour of immigration found in the 1966 White Paper. It can be argued that this is unfortunate since an analysis of these "traditional arguments" is necessary in order to decide rationally how much immigration and population growth should be allowed. Only by analyzing and comparing all the arguments can we make a rational decision.

Though the Green Paper is correct when it states:

> Canada, like most advanced nations, counts the costs of more people in terms of congested metropolitan areas, housing shortages, pressures on arable land, damage to the environment - in short, the familiar catalogue of problems with which prosperous and sophisticated societies are currently endeavoring to cope.[10]

this is only part of the argument.

Nonetheless, considering the various problems involved in large-scale population growth, extrapolated both in the Green Paper and in numerous other sources, it seems likely that a moderate population growth is the best course to follow."[11] Thus, because of the inter-relationship between net immigration and population growth, a moderate level of immigration can be expected to be the aim of future immigration policy. Furthermore, Mr. Andras, the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, has stated that he prefers moderate growth in the population of Canada.[12]

In addition to the earlier mentioned influences on the desirability of population growth, there is also the concept of absorptive capacity. What absorptive capacity deals with is how great an increase in immigration (and thus, population) can the country absorb.[13]

As far as the Green Paper is concerned, when considering absorptive capacity the paramount factor is the Canadian economy and therefore it states that the most effective linkage between manpower and immigration policies must be guaranteed. Nevertheless the Green Paper also supports the kinship factor in Canadian immigration policy. Unfortunately these factors are not necessarily compatible.

The main objective in the area of absorptive capacity is the consideration whether the applicant is capable of becoming successfully established in Canada, either through personal effort or with the help of others. Different standards for measuring this capability are provided, depending on whether the prospective immigrant will be wholly independent, wholly dependent on someone already in Canada, or partly the one and partly the other. These three groups are referred to, respectively, as independent applicants, sponsored dependents, and nominated relatives.[14]

Of these groups, the independent applicants are most susceptible to variations in the economic absorptive capacity. On the other hand, the immigration of sponsored dependents is totally influenced by the kinship factor. To this extent the factors are compatible. Where their compatibility is strained is in the area of nominated relatives. In fact one of the options for a future immigration policy involves the dropping of this classification because of this difficulty. The people that would have come under the nominated classification on the grounds of kinship would then be selected only if they meet labour market criteria (i.e. economic absorptive capacity).[15]

At the present time, the point system favours the nominated immigrants, who rely heavily on a family relationship, against the independents, who rely on their own qualifications. As a result of this, the education level and the skill of the immigrants are reduced.[16] However, this is an acceptable price to pay in order to allow families to be reunited. But most nominated immigrants, when questioned, said they came to Canada for economic reasons rather than to be with their families.[17]

Since the economic reason is the main reason for their immigrating to Canada, it would seem appropriate to tie the means for their coming more closely to the reason.

(Especially in light of the fact that it may be necessary to cut back immigration, but yet retain a large influx of skilled and/or educated people. Therefore, some modification to the requirements of the nominated class would seem to be in order.)

However, the fact that they have come to Canada for economic reasons does not change the objective fact that they are reunited with their kin. Therefore, before any changes are made in this part of the present policy, there must be fairly solid indications that such a change is necessary for the well-being of Canadians.

In addition to the economic aspect of absorptive capacity there are also the linguistic-cultural, and humanitarian aspects.

The only area in which the linguistic-cultural aspect is dealt with directly is where the character of immigration is discussed.[18]

The first concern of this section is the retention of the present balance between the anglophone and francophone elements of the population. Since the birth-rate of francophone Canadians is on the decline, the only way of maintaining the existing ratio of anglophone to francophone Canadians is through immigration. According to the Green Paper, it is necessary to admit a higher proportion of people likely to choose integration within the francophone community.[19]

At present I believe that increased fracophone immigration is not to be opposed. The main reason for this is that such immigration is necessary to maintain national unity, and, to a lesser extent, to maintain, in the international domain, Canada's role as a bilingual nation. at the present time,

Though such a policy is needed to the extent that it shows French Canadians that Ottawa means business in terms of bilingualism, it is not the real answer. I would agree with the Ottawa Citizen when it says that in the long run, Quebec's distinctive society won't survive in this fashion. Instead French language and culture will survive the pressures of English-speaking North America only if they have qualities desirable in themselves.[20]

. Given the acceptability of increased francophone immigration, the Green Paper goes on to make some disturbing comments.

It is one thing to teach the French language to people of non-French background living in a province which is predominantly French-speaking; it is quite another to be intolerant of their cultural distinctiveness by expectin them to assimilate into the French culture. It would seem logical that a group which is seeking cultural rights for itself would support other groups seeking the same thing.

Unfortunately the Green Paper holds that:

> The Government of Quebec...has a unique interest in immigrant adjustment, and relies heavily on C.O.F.I. [Centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants] to encourage immigrants in Quebec to assimilate the language and culture of French Canada. [my emphasis.][21]

It earlier stated that this is the result of immigrant assimilation into the anglophone community. Specifically it states that Quebec provincial authorities are especially concerned about the tendency of immigrants to become assimilated within the anglophone rather than the francophone community.[22]

This talk of immigrant assimilation seems to fly in the face of the developments in recent years in the area of multiculturalism. The policy of multiculturalism states that instead of attempting to assimilate the immigrant or the native born into a monolithic cultural community, people should be encouraged to maintain their identity. An immigrant, therefore, no matter where he is in Canada, has the right to maintain his cultural identity. In other words, Quebec does not have the right to expect the immigrant to assimilate into the French Canadian culture any more than Ontario has the right to expect him to assimilate into the dominant culture of English-speaking Canada. This is equally appliciable to francophone immigrants as to immigrants whose language is neither of the two official languages. This is applicable to the francophone immigrant because, though he may speak French, his cultural background may be either French, Haitian or Vietnamese.

Furthermore, in regards to multiculturalism, the Green Paper neither here nor elsewhere discusses the implications of immigration on multiculturalism. The most the Green Paper has to say about the non-French and non-English ethnic groups is that it recognizes:

> How peoples of many origins, imbued with a sense of shared national purpose, combine their energies and talents in common endeavours is what the Canadian reality is all about. As a nation we derive inestimable advantages from a population speaking more than one language and enjoying the many traditions its component groups cherish by reason of birth or ancestry.[23]

This amounts to nothing more than tokensim.

Another distressing point in the discussion of the character of immigration policy the implication of racism that appears there.

In that section, the authors mention that there is concern "about the consequences for national identity that might follow any significant change in the ethnic composition of the population..."[24] In light of the fact that recent immigration has been increasingly, but not predominantly, from non-white countries, this statement seems to suggest that non-white immigration will ruin our national identity.

Earlier statements also seem to be tainted with racist tendencies. For example, when the Green Paper is discussing the increased immigrant movement "from certain Asian and Caribbean nations" it states:

> In the circumstances it would be astonishing if there was no concern about the capacity of our society to adjust to a pace of population change that entails after all... novel and distinctive features.[25]

Basically what is being said is that opposition to the immigration of non-white peoples is to be expected. By implication it seems to go on to state that the social tensions caused by non-white immigration are possible reasons for the curtailment of non-white immigration. But government officials have denied that this section is implying anything of this sort. They hold that the apparent implication is the result of the fact that the Green Paper is poorly written.

Mr. Andras has stated:

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REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE - 1974 - 75

Dear fellow erudites!

In another week or so, we will all be together at the SUSK Congress in Edmonton, getting a taste of some lousy skiing weather (that's what summers are supposed to be like in Edmonton) (actually the summer this year has been phenomenal there), taking in a lot of sessions and other pleasured ammenities that are part and parcel of all and any SUSK Congress. But, just before we leave you, this National Executive would like to engage us in some shop talk - like telling everyone (including themselves what has happened this year). So, please stay tuned and in your seats: this is not a commercial message or a summer repeat of "At The World Turns".

Club Visitations

Two tours of all the clubs were done by Myron Spolsky, with the first taking place in October and November and the second in January and February. During the February tour of the western clubs, Sheila Slobodzian accompanied Myron to Vancouver and Victoria, and also visited Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon and Regina. In June, Jurij Fedyk visited Saskatoon and Regina. The only club not visited formally during the year was McMaster University, due to a mix-up.

During visitations, National Executive members have the opportunity to break out of relative isolation in the SUSK Office, find out what is being planned and done in the various centres and then plan a given series of actions for the next months. The visitations also allow for club executives and members to meet those nebulous figures of speech, called the SUSK National Executive, to exchange ideas on what the National Executive is doing, what it should be doing, and then what the club is doing, and how it should be doing it. We would strongly recommend that members of the new National Executive do a complete tour within the first month and a half of their term.

Presidents' Conference

The long-awaited Presidents' Conference, initially scheduled for November, then moved to February and finally held in June, was a good and perhaps the best exchange of ideas on SUSK and its activities held in a long time. It was attended by representatives from nine clubs as well as two National Executive members and one member of the "Student" Editorial Board. The topics of discussion were those which we will be discussing in this report, except that outside of a short discussion on the work done this year, much of the discussion centred about next year's work.

We would recommend, as we have proposed in the changes to the constitution, that such presidents' conferences be held at least twice a year, and that in this manner, the clubs are best able to advise members of the National Executive on various issues and actions, as well as solid discussions taking place on the activities of the clubs. It was unfortunate that the conference scheduled for November did not take place as planned. Instead, the eastern club presidents did meet on that weekend in Toronto to discuss various matters.

Money should be made available by the National Executive for at least two such conferences: these are not gala affairs as are SUSK Congresses, and they should never become huge affairs. The representatives of clubs should be prepared to discuss various issues at length.

Club Communications

Throughout the year, there were about ten formal newsletters on various topics sent to the clubs. Outside of the one sent in March, others were sent only to the executive. Two faults are to be found in this: the first is that the first four arrived within two weeks of each other, often they were too packed with information for easy digestion (as for example the one on the speakers' tours or the big one in March); and secondly there was no regularity in tbem. However, the positive points that do stand out about the written communication is that it was more than in any previous year, it was bent at being educational and it externalised the feelings of most executive members. The new executive should definitely carry on the policy of written communications with club members, but trying to send them to all the membership, making this more regular, and thus a bit less intensive (many of the complaints received were that one would take a break from studying only to have to study a SUSK Bulletin).

The Western Vice-President, Sheila, sent several newsletters to all club members in the West. There was one such bulletin sent to the eastern clubs by Marijka Hurko, the Eastern Vice-President.

The Bulletins should contain more news about what various clubs are doing at home. There was some lack of information between clubs especially in the east, that should be remedied by a newsletter. As well, members of the National Executive should each try to be more informative of what they are doing and describing the kind of support that they need.

More written communications with the clubs were on an individual level.

MOST IMPORTANT COMMENT: we felt very isolated throughout the year, as the communications from the clubs were very limited. There was little comment on the programme and what was being written either in "Student" or in the newsletters. We hope that this is not a sign of agreement with what we are doing, but unless there is a sharp improvement in communications from the clubs then we may well find ourselves in a position that the National Executive is planning actions that have no bearing on what the clubs are doing and we may very well end up again with a disjointed organisation. OTHER MOST IMPORTANT COMMENT: for the benefit of your clubs,the general membership and the new executive, it would be greatly appreciated if all mailing lists were submitted by the end of October, and not by the end of March as was the case this year. We still do not have the mailing lists of two clubs. It makes for a lot of work and a long process for the person here that is compiling and computerising the list if he/she has to go back and re-programme it everytime a new club list arrives: it is much easier if everything arrives at once and is done all together, and then only additional names are put on the list.

In terms of general club-national executive relations,we think that they were good. There was an attempt by this executive to pass on as much information as possible to the clubs, and to communicate with everybody as regularly as possible. As well, in at least three clubs where there were some problems in organising, the National Executive took extra time to help out in solving problems. The new executive develop this line of activity, and is proposed in the new constitution, should take a much deeper involvement in club activities than before.

On the other hand, we also stronly recommend that clubs take a much deeper responsibility for what the National Executive is doing. It is not to be left alone as an isolated body of nine or ten people in that much-despised Toronto: otherwise, it actually does become a clique of nine or ten people, and Toronto does become a much-despised centre of power. For the sake of the survival (financial) of SUSK, we would propose that all clubs pitch in far more than previously. The present club dues barely cover one issue of "Student" or one mailing. (This problem will be discussed further in this report.)

Soviet Political Prisoners

The National Executive organised a speaking engagement in Toronto for Pavel Litvinov, a Russian mathematician and dissident. The engagement was organised together with the Hillel House, a Jewish students' club in Toronto. In terms of Litvinov, the tour was good: there was a good response from the Toronto media. In terms of co-operating with Jewish student, we had hoped that this temporary action would lead to a more permanent arrangement; unfortunately this did not, as we soon discovered that Hillel House was not as massive an organisation as expected and could really not be depended upon to carry a

full load.

The tour by Phil Berrigan was a very successful action. In all centres that he visited, there were usually 200 - 400 people in the audience, and he received wide press coverage. The major problem was that many people were more interested in the state of the American radical movement, rather than in either of the two political prisoners that Berrigan was defending (Moroz and a South Vietnamese). The other point is that Berrigan would have preferred to have met and discussed various problems and issues with Ukrainian Canadian students. The tour was organised with the co-operation of the Toronto Moroz Committee, the Working Group on Ukraine, the Moroz Committees in the various centres and SUSK. While it is best to have several groups involved in such an action, it often takes more work trying to have each group prepare its work that would normally be associated with only one group organising this.

The tour by Terry Liddle of England, due to start in February, was cancelled or postponed half a month before the scheduled start.

This was unfortunate, since in having the three planned speakers, SUSK would have been able to span a wide political spectrum from liberal to far left, and in this way, could have run a very complete action in defense of Soviet Ukrainian political prisoners. It is extremely important for SUSK to attempt to approach those sectors of the Canadian community who are not normally approached on questions of Ukraine. Ohterwise, the open face of the community becomes regarded as one-sided. Equally, actions must reflect the broad views of the Ukrainian Canadian community which range in all sectors. The impact of Berrigan speaking on Moroz was good: he did bring the message home that Moroz is a person that cannot be identified with right-wing groups, that this issue is of equal importance to all defense groups.

The National Executive started a petition in defense of Leonid Plyushch, the Soviet Ukrainian cyberneticist. It was started quite late in the school year (after several mis-starts) and to date some 90 signatures have been collected. This action should be pushed in the first month by all clubs so that by the end of September a petition can be published in some major Canadian papers as well as university papers. The National Executive has made contacts with the International Committee to Defend Plyushch in Paris and is trying to co-ordinate actions in the future with this group (such as an international Plyushch day). To some extent the National Executive feels solitary on the issue: it initially started in the Ukrainian community by CeSUS, the World Conference of Ukrainian Students. However, despite assurances initially that all Ukrainian student unions would take on this action, nothing of this sorts has happened, and CeSUS has long abandoned this case. Regardless of this, SUSK should carry on this case, and become more demonstrative in his defense. The petition is only one step.

At the end of May, four members of the National Executive took part in the Fourth Annual General Conference of the Ontario Federation of Students, at which time a motion was presented on behalf of SUSK by the Council of York Student Federations in support of Moroz, Plyushch and Jiri Muller, a Czechoslovakian political prisoner. As a result, several university students' councils have also adopted this motion, and a newspaper article about the cases of these three political prisoners is to appear in the OFS newspaper. This is the first time since 1969 that a Canadian student body has been aproached with this question, and while the fight to oppose the motion by members of the Communist Party and by trendy-lefties (who unquestioningly support detente) is not pleasant in the least, this matter should also be raised before the National Union of Students Conference in the fall. (More about this later.)

The National Executive, under the guidance and technical assistance of Anhelyna Szuch, organised a Symposium on Dissent in Ukraine, which took place in Toronto, at York University, July 4 - 6. There were about 120 persons present and participating during the three days. Topics of discussion centred broadly around dissent and its roots. Speakers were from all political backgrounds: this lead into a very interesting discussion where various perspectives were discussed and presented, both by the speakers and the participants. Among the participants were members of the major defense groups (New York, Chicago, Toronto, Edmonton), who had a one-day session on the problems faced in defense work and possibilities for co-operation among these groups. These did bring concrete results. We recommend that this conference be repeated by the new executive. In providing such an open forum for the discussion of this topic, SUSK fulfills a vital function for the community.

Multiculturalism

Members of the National Executive met in Winnipeg in October with Hon. John Munro, minister responsible for multiculturalism, his special assistant, and the Director of the Multicultural Directorate. During the meeting we presented our views as to the implementation of the policy (as expressed in the position paper on multiculturalism - also in this issue), and it was strange to hear, later that night during the KYK Banquet, Mr. Munro reiterate that he would stress those very issues which we had raised.

Throughout the year, we met on at least four occassions with members of the Multicultural Directorate to present our case on the implementation of multiculturalism.

We had hoped that we would have at least two full-time lobbyists during the summer months working in Ottawa on the question of multiculturalism. However, because the necessary ground-work was not laid, and because of this the necessary finances not raised, the project was scrapped for this year.

It must be generally felt that this is one area in which the National Executive sadly neglected its responsibilities. While, it is true that a project as for example the proposed conferences, could not take place because of the amount of ground-work and other factors, there is no reason why we could not have and did not maintain a more critical view of the government's efforts in this area and did not communicate this consistently to government. While we did know perhaps more than other group in the Ukrainian Canadian community about the inner workings of this department we did not capitalise on this knowledge.

It was a very positive step taken when Sheila organised a panel on multiculturalism which took place in Winnipeg in February. There was a representative of the Chinese community, of the Black community (Willis Cummins) and Myron from the Ukrainian community, facing Julius Koteles, the chairman of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism: the criticism of the policy expressed was excellent, except that Koteles has to be the most unresponsive government official we have ever dealt with, so it was to little use, except as a good show for the audience.

We would recommend that the new executive take on with much greater emphasis this policy, and going through those things which we were not able to achieve.

On the question of the CBC: in late September, three members of the National Executive met with members of the CBC Secretariat to discuss a programme called "Up Canada" which in March presented a particularly offensive programme on multiculturalism, which derided multiculturalism as a policy designed for vote-grabbing, that all Slavic groups, and in particular Slovaks and Ukrainian are militaristic fascists, that grants are being used for defense work, etc., etc. Needless to say we did not succeed, even though we should have: the issue was straightforward and simple and we were simply outwitted and played around.

On the broader question of multilingual broadcasting on the CBC, we did through the course of our discussions with the minister and his civil servants, highlight this issue. However we were not able to finish a final edit of the report of the project last year and thus we have not yet submitted it. However, the latest news is that in February, the CBC and the CRTC had agreed that this form of broadcasting

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REPORT CONTINUED. . .

would commence on the CBC and now it is the responsibility of the CBC to prepare itself to make the formal announcement. Because the whole situation was not clear for several months, we did not press the issue, but if the issue does not become formally resolved then by October, SUSK should be prepared to start hammering away. All supporting materials are either ready or in the case of the report will be ready by then.

Community Development

This summer, the National Executive was directly involved in one project and gave suggestions and suport for another. In the case of the first, there were two fieldworkers hired to work in the area of Thunder Bay, helping the Ukrainian community in various projecte. SUSK applied to the Ontario Government for funds for 20 fieldworkers, but due to the government's system of granting we only received funds for the two. The projects that these fieldworkers were coping with was: in the educational field, in trying to revive Ukrainian language courses in local high schools, in working with the KYK educational committee on their specific project, as well as setting up a local radio programme for the community, and organising film nights and other evente. While it really too early to judge this project and its results, it must be said that a more intensive orientation should have been arranged for the two students. On the other hand, most of the problems faced by the two related to the very nature of the community and could only be resolved on the spot. SUSK is still fighting a bad image from former fieldworker projects, and this to some extent was a hindrance at least initially. It was very positive and helpful that the fieldworkers placed themselves at the disposal of the community and tried to work within the community structures, relating their projects to what were specific needs for these communities, rather than taking on the roles of saviours. The only problem with Ontario Government grants is that they stipulate that the organisation must come up with its 50% of the costs of the project. This, however, should be ironed out by next year, so that they take the major burden.

A fieldwork project was initiated in Saskatchewan with four students hired. While we have no control or influence over the project, the way this project came about was through the advise and help of the National Executive.

We strongly believe that the best way for fieldwork projects to be started is by having the National Executive sit down with club members in given areas, help them write and submit a project proposal, get the support of the local and the provincial Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and then allow the local group to run the project. It is in the best interests of all parties concerned to do it in thie manner: in the first instance, a National Executive, which is up to 2,000 milee away, cannot decide that there are eome universal projects which may be applied across the country: this is just not so. In the second instance, it is practically impossible for members of the National Executive to keep tabs on what is happening in every centre with a project, and when problems do arise, they are not easily eolved by people 2,000 miles away. In the third instance, while it ehould be a practice that about half the hired students be from outside the province (since thie provides everyone with a good exchange of ideas), everyone feels resentful if a stranger pops into town and tries to make suggestions, no matter how well-intentioned. Finally, projects should not just be dropped at the end of the summer: there should be some help extended to the communitites throughout the year in oursuing those aime which the fieldworkers had started working on.

Where the National Executive does have direct influence is with the Federal Government, and with having a resource centre in the office for ideas and being able to predict based on experience how certain things will run. Due to time, we were not able to make contacts with the Company of Young Canadians, who do run fieldworker projects for broad interest groups, but not for cultural communities. This should be done in this year: the CYC should be approached to commence social animation projects on a full-time basis. Secondly, federal funds can be received if we can organise a network of such projects across the country. But, we again reiterate the feeling that the most effective projects are those locally run; also, we have as yet not fully tapped provincial resources for our purposes.

Non-Ukrainian Canadian Groups

During the year the National Executive had made some attempts to seek out other Students' Unions similar to our own. Our first move at co-operation with a Jewish group was not very successful. However, since that time, we have been in very close contacts with the Canadian Union of Jewish Students, with whom we can lead a wide range of activities, from actions in defense of Soviet political prisoners to multiculturalism.

Other groups tend to come and go as students in those communities see the need for these groups. SUSK and CUJS are thus really stuck when it comes to co-operating with other groups since these have not yet become sufficiently permanent. Nevertheless, it would be advisable that the new Executive plan a series of actions which would involve these groups and in this benefit both sides.

SUSK and KYK

In October about 30 delegates from SUSK attended the 11th KYK Congress in Winnipeg. The Congress provided no earth-shattering resolutions to any problmes in the community. Throughout the Congress, both in open forum and in committee sessions, SUSK delegates proposed constitutional changes, budgetary changes and programmatic changes for KYK none of which were accepted. We were a fairly quiet bunch at that Congress, but it seems that if we are to get our way, then we must become more demonstrative in our demands.

Throughout the year Boris Hwozdulych was SUSK representative on the KYK presidium. The task of going to KYK meetings is not the most pleasant or fulfilling on this executive.

The main issues which did come up were the constitutional issues for KYK. For several years now SUSK has been pushing that KYK become a fully democratised institution; at the laet Congress it was agreed to elect a president and continue appointing the other members of the presidium. The Congress also appointed or elected an independent constitutional committee which would propose concrete changes for the constitution and preeent these to the next congress. This committee has now completed its work, and we have already prepared a response to it.

Throughout the year, KYK did very little on the CBC question: it is fair to say that even our meagre efforts were above those of KYK.

We would recommend the following course of action for the new Executive: that all activities of SUSK in communications with government be communicated to the presidium; that active criticism be undertaken by SUSK inrelation to what KYK is doing or isn't doing and should be doing. Finally, that the new Executive accept the recommendations of the position paper on KYK with respect to our position on the new KYK Constitution.

Other Ukrainian Student Bodies

In the past SUSK has had rather limited contacts with Ukrainian student organisations outside of Canada. This has been to a large degree to the fact that we have been the moet active by far of these groups and that we have taken very independent positions on various issues, which do not agree with the other organisations which tend to take a more establishmentarian view of matters.

Our major contacts have been with CeSUS, the World Federation of Ukrainian Students. The last congress of this body was held in 1973 in Toronto, which showed how wide the gulf was between SUSK and the other student groups. CeSUS, once a very powerful student body, has

now become a paper organisation: as was mentioned before they did take up an action in defense of Plyushch but failed to do any concrete work in this. There have been no meetings of the CeSUS Executive to discuss possible actions; there have been no newsletters, or anything that would indicate any form of activity. In the last two years SUSK has directly or indirectly given $3,500 to CeSUS, which has since been spent on something that we can't figure out. CeSUS has just held a conference in Europe for European students: most of the planning, the ideas and the initiave for this conference came from this National Executive.

Last month the National Executive sent a letter to the president of CeSUS, Andriy Chornodolsky, setting down the position of SUSK on this body: unless CeSUS becomes more active, even in this final year of his term then the National Executive will be proposing to the Congress to adopt one of these options: a) that SUSK suspend its membership in CeSUS, until such a time as it shows some activity; b) that SUSK suspend all financial assistance to CeSUS; c) that SUSK ask for a special congress of CeSUS to elect a new executive; d) make concrete proposals for CeSUS activity with dealines provided and then allow the SUSK Executive to either remain within CeSUS if these proejcts are completed, or take either of the above options.

In our opinion, our most positive option is the last: it is the most constructive and gives us leeway. This option also well underlines our position to other Ukrainian student organisations that we are no longer willing to be the only supporter of CeSUS.

However, if CeSUS does not respond to the letter, then our only option will be the first three.

Art Exhibit and Tour

At the beginning of the year, Bohdanka Rozdolska and Lesia Savedchuk, our cultural representatives, undertook to organise an Art Tour and Exhibit of Ukrainian Canadian Student Artists. The aim was to take the work of students, and in this manner introduce them to the community and allow for the development of an outlet in the community. Much of this project depends on one government grant to one or persons to organise these artists,to set up gallery space and to start publicity. This did not happen this year.

Lesia and Bohdanka sent out newsletters to the clubs with minimal response. They have also been setting up the budget by holding discussions with transportation groups, the National Museums, and provincial museums.

This work is being continued and should be continued.

Ukrainian Canadian Historical Date Calendar

Throughout the year, Halyna Hryn, Chrystia Chomiak and Jurij Fedyk edited the articles and dates which were completed during last summer's project. Grant applications were submitted to the Federal Government, but due to the large number of Ukrainian applications being considered at that time the application was turned down. At that point this was not a very big setback.

It was already determined at that time that more time was needed to publish the calendar and that it would be published for 1976. Time schedules were drawn up, research, copy and layout editors were contacted, and work was to start in full swing at the end of the school year. However, Halyna became ill and was for most of the summer and no one was in a position to devote full energies to the final work being done on the project. In the middle of August, a full meeting of the calendar group and the executive was held, during which time it was decided to publish this calendar for 1977 for the following reasoN; 1) many articles and topics had to be researched again, and re-qritten: this would be done either by specialists or by the person working full time on this project; 2) in the time period given there would not be enough time to properly distribute the calendar and that it would be a very shabby product in all respects. Also, grant applications were being resubmitted to the Federal Government and to the Canada Council. With these funds assured, only then could a person be hired to do the work for an honorarium and then start marketing them by February 1976 for the next year. It was felt that in the past projects were completed in a far too shabby manner and that this project, into which a lot of work had been put, should be completed to the best of our abilities.

Symposium on the community

The National Executive has worked on planning the Symposium - "The Ukrainian Canadians - Perspective '75", which is taking place the Wednesday and Thursday before the congress starts. The aim of the conference is to examine the issue of multiculturalism, bring about new perspectives, and allow for a general brain stormong session on how the community has dealt with the issue.

16th SUSK Congress

It was felt that since SUSK had already organised a Symposium on Dissent in Ukraine and a Symposium on the community, that this year's congress should and must be held to discuss SUSK itself. We have reached that stage where a new group of people has taken over: we must come out with new perspectives, new concepts and new plans, and realign the organisation as a whole to meet with its own needs and those of the community and the issue which it faces.

General Comments

As was mentioned previously, a totally new crew was elected for this Executive. On one hand it hurt us in that everybody had to learn how to run the organisation and what the issues were all about. A good number of mistakes were made initially. Tbe point where this did damage us most was in terms of finances. We made one small blunder in early October and it took us until February to recover. On the other hand, the very fact that this was a new group gives the organisation a good base for future years.

Most clubs were also faced with either totally new member or totally new executives or both. This will make for a very interesting process for the next few years. However, we strongly feel that it is essential that all executives maintain some carry-over from executive to executive so that old mistakes are not repeated again.

Throughout our contacts during the year, we found that contrary to the opinion that the East and the West form two separate blocks, there is usually little similarity between the centres in the two given areas. For example, Toronto and Edmonton are very similar centres, as are London and Regina and so on. For the future we should try to realise that each centre has become part of the larger community in which it exists and takes on many of the characteristics of that community.

The main aim of this year's executive wae to broaden SUSK activities into several areas. In previous years it was accepted that the Executive would take on only one issue per year, and then at the year's end would report on the successes or failures in dealing with the issue. Last year, 1973-74, it was felt that SUSK had the capabilities to carry on activities in several areas, but outside of intensive club development work and work on the CBC this was not really shown. This year we tried to do what had not succeeded last year: we did have activities in every area, and if they were unbalanced among the areas this can be due to inexperience, lack of funds (we were left with a debt to start with) and a need for more full-time staff. Not wanting to sound like any other organisation we do not want to say how many letters were written, how many hours were spent filing, answering calls, and of course drinking coffee with people, and everything else: it is hard to imagine SUSK as a bureaucratic institution, but it has really attained that status. To some extent, we had started losing much of the movement quality that was associated with SUSK, especially in the couple of years which faced financial difficulties. We feel that some of this quality may be returning at long last, and that the two sides of the organisation, being the organisational and the responsive movement will complement themselves. But this is mere speculation and is to be left up to the new Executive to make heads or tales out of.

SUSK definitely has the capabilities to handle several issues per year, in fact, it can easily handle actions in each area. However.

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ON SUSK - SOME PROPOSALS

During this year, the National Executive attempted to move into several areas of activities, treating each equally and going into each as intensively as possible. Obviously, the high standards that we set for ourselves were not matched.

There were two major reasons for this. The first ie obviously financial. Suffice it to say, that if you start the year with a debt, are not experienced enough in handling a budget and make one small mistake, it is a very constricting situation. The task of raising sufficient funds ie a super taek in itself that should involve three or four individuale, who have no othar responeibilities.

The second major reason is the number of people and their organisation. This year, at any one time we no more than 5 individuals who took part in the work. If one considers that thie year we had our fingers mixed into multiculturalism, human rights, community development, cultural development, and just administrative work, including finances, correspondence, etc., then we can see that this indeed leade us into a problem. In addition to the above five there were three individuals in Winnipeg who handled their own reeponsibilitiae, quite capably.

What this last type of eituation generally leads to is a feeling of "biting off more than you can chew". From this situation, this year's executive proposes the following three optione to the Congress for consideration.

1) SUSK could return to working on only one issue at a time; this would be carried on intensively, but the executive would be saddled with club development and organisational responsibilities as well. A benefit of this is that everybody can participate in this one action; this option lowers the financial burden because it basically involves only one full-time personto manage the office and club development. It is also a much more exciting way of doing things because there ie much more energy placed into this one issue, and the results seem to come more quickly.

2) SUSK could maintain its activities at the preeent level, making only very slight structural changes, and having one full-time staffer. This would be having your fingers in every pie. The only positive element of this option is that it involves a smaller budget than the following option. After all, one person can only do eo much.

3) SUSK could choose to expand and change its etructure. Thie involves in the first place having about 3 full-time staffere, re-structuring the executive to delegate responsibility for given areas to members of the executive, involving the clubs more in these activities, centralising the essential executive members in one place, and going full steam into each area. Thie involves the formation of an independent financial committee, and other small structural changes. Above all, this means that there will be a much larger budget to handle. In eesence, thie proposal would lead us into a much expanded option one.

The following are the problems which could be faced in each option.

1) While this is a fairly simple option to deal with, the major point against it is that in the past, this has lead to incompleted projecte, unwritten reports, and much criticism from individuals who were and should have remained our supporters. In this eituation, while a lot of valuable work is done, a good deal remains uncompleted, and even though we are not in a position to see to the implementation of these issuas in our own community, nevertheless, work on them must be continued until some progress is seen.

2) This option is really unworkable. There are too many areas to be handled by one full-time staffer, and those who are in echool do not have the time necessary to work on these issues to see them through.

3) Thie option has two major negative points: one is that the budget is increased, and the second that may occur, is that the organisation will become too professionalised, and will not be able to regenerate itself (i.e.: people will feel since there is full-time paid staff, that there is no need for volunteer help and involvement). On the other hand, however, with three or so full-time people there should always be at least one who has time to go fund-raising. In answer to the second problem if there are a lot of things happenning from the SUSK office, then it has always increased the number of interested individuals who pop into the office and help out where needed.

These are three basic options that are being presented for discussion to the Congress. We feel that these are essential before we go any further in our discussions about SUSK and its activities for the coming years.

Gensral Recommendations

1) That the activities of the SUSK National Executive be expanded to include all aréas that will be presented at this Congress.

2) That the National Executive be more intensive in the pursual of these aims in the given areas, and that the National Executive be more demonstrative in its activities.

3) That the National Executive become more critical of the work of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee; in particular, we would recommend that the National Executive pureue the policy of full democracy for the Ukrainian Canadian Committse and that in response to the proposals for changes in the KYK Constitution pursue the SUSK position as accepted by this Congress.

4) That ths National Executive endeavour to become members of the National Union of Students, and that where possible have SUSK representatives present at meetings of provincial student federations.

5) That the Congress elect a finance committee, whose only function will be to fulfill the SUSK budget.

6) That the projects initiated during the term of 1974 - 75 be continued until their completion.

7) That this Congress resolve SUSK's standing in the World Conference of Ukrainian Studsnts (CeSUS).

8) That the National Executive co-operate with organisations within the community whose field of activity and aims are similar to our own, in particular, the Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation.

9) That the National Executive continue the close relations with the Canadian Union of Jewish Students, initiated by this sxecutive, and especially in the areas of human rights and multiculturalism.

10) That the main area of activitiss of the National Exscutive centre around the quesstion of multiculturalism and community dsvelopmsnt.

MYKOLA KHVYL'OVY

FIVE STORIES

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in Ukrainian

Continued from page 13

two main aspects must be taken care of. First of all, the Executive needs much more funding to run. As in this year, it was extremely difficult for one person to manage all the affairs of SUSK, and there was not one person who could manage finances without someone else's help. It is far from being a pleasant job to go out and raise funds for an organisation and listen to everybody's concepts of politics and what students should be doing, and why students are all communists, and on and on and on. So we would propose that there be an independent financial committee set up chaired by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Executive and made up of people who are not necessarily involved in SUSK. In this way members of the Executive are free to worry about what they are going to do in their own areas of responsibility, instead of worrying where they will get the funds from. We would propose that the Congress consider allowing the new Executive to incorporate itself and to get a tax-relief number.

The second problem is that of people and help. During the first few months, much of the time was spent determining who could handle the responsibilities given and who couldn't, and what changes had to be made. This should not be a problem this year, but neverthless, the Executive needs about five or six people who are willing to commit one year to working here, either on a full time basis or while going to school. We can really say that this year's activities were the products of the minority of the executive, even during the summer months. In most cases it was not the fault of the inactive executive members, but rather that they were chosen to an executive and soon discovered that they could not match up to the needs of the position or could not find activities for themselves within the framework. This may be generally true for all groups in the formative first year, and we think that the situation will become different for the new Executive.

Provided the finances and the personnel, SUSK can continue working on various areas, and will continue to develop in the next five years. We were also in somewhat of a strange position this year: in the past SUSK was able to find an area not being covered by any other group in the community. In the last two years, we have found that areas have already been worked on, or are being worked on by other groups, and thus it becomes redundant for us to undertake actions in these areas. Questions such as those of multiculturalism have reached their objective end, and all we can do in this case is to foster interest among our own community and among other communities in the policy. Simply said, the work that lies agead for SUSK is far from being as spectacular as it was several years ago: there are no big steps to be taken, only consolidation. We fell that SUSK must be the leading "consolidating" body in these areas. It must inject new perspectives, and new ideas as to how various sub-issues should be decided.

The community is always very prepared to criticise what SUSK is doing. We are charged with everything from irresponsibility to mismanagement to communism to anglicism to you-name-it. In presenting the views of the Executive, this cannot be a deterrent in any sense, either for personal gain or for the financial stability of SUSK.

In terms of relations with other organisations, SUSK should maintain very close working relations with the Ukrainian Canadian Businees and Professional Federation and with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. However, we should at all times try to be as critical of their work as possible so that in this way a new and higher level of acceptability is reached. This is particularly true in terms of KYK. However, in both cases, the best remedy is to outwork and outproduce everybody. It is recommended that some form of relations be maintained with other organisations, whose leanings may be more towards Ukrainian and not Ukrainian Canadian issues. We are after all working within this community, and unless we can show some belonging to that community then our criticism is going to be considered valueless.

Before we sign off, members of the National Executive would like to thank those individuals who were not elected to this executive, who did put in more time than we often put in: among these were Margaret Pohran, Roma Andrusiak and Irka Welhasch, as well as those former SUSK members who helped out when possible on some actions or with advice. The "Student" Editorial Board helped out significantly throughout the summer and without their help we would not have been able to do very much during this summer. In regards with the fact that SUSK did not get any national projects funded for this year. We applied for several projects; these were outlined in the May issue of Student and in the March newsletter. Some of the projects were better prepared some worse. It seems that over-all this was not SUSK's year for grants, and it's as simple as that. In one respect this really put back our work, but in one respect this was the best thing that happened to us. During the last two years, SUSK projects had become mercenary events: when there was money, people came around and worked on the projects and once the projects they were nowhere to be seen. This summer forced people to make a commitment to the concept of SUSK, and in comparison, all of the people here put in probably more work than during previous years. In the future, care must be taken that from projects there also be some tangible results for SUSK.

PROGRAMME OF THE 16TH CONGRESS
Friday, August 29 - Monday, September 1, 1975.

Friday, August 29, 1975.

9:00 AM - 12:00 PM
Report of the outgoing executive:
Myron Spolsky, President;
Sheila Slobodzian, Western Vice-President;
Jurij Fedyk, Secretary-Treasurer.
Report of the Controlling Committee:
Bohdan Krucko.
Motion of confidence for outgoing executive.

1:30 PM - 3:00 PM
Presentations of working papers:
Multiculturalism: Myron Spolsky;
Community Fieldwork: Bohdan Popowych;
Human Rights: Anhelyna Szuch;
Club Development: Sheila Slobodzian.

4:00 PM - 6:00 PM
Seminars on working papers.

7:00 PM - ???????
Barbeque and sing-along.

Saturday, August 30, 1975.

9:00 AM - 11:00 AM
Presentation of working paper on "Student": Lubomyr Szuch.

11:00 AM - 12:30 PM
Panel Discussion: The Ukrainian Canadian Woman: speakers to be announced.

1:30 PM - 2:30 PM
SUSK and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Boris Howzdulych and Jurij Fedyk.

2:30 PM - 4:00 PM
SUSK Constitution:
Myron Spolsky.

4:00 PM - 5:00 PM
Where do students go after SUSK:
Dr. M. Lupul, Edmonton;
Dr. J. Bachynski, Western Vice-President, Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation.

7:00 PM - ???????
16th SUSK Banquet and Dance: Executive House Motor Inn.

Sunday, August 31, 1975.

11:30 AM - 5:00 PM
General discussion on reports;
Discussion and adoption of motions from working sessions;
Discussion of financial position;
New directions: contacts with Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian organisations;
Report of the Verification Committee;
Report of the Nominations Committee.

5:00 PM - 5:30 PM
Snack Break.

5:30 PM - ???????
Unfinished business from previous session;
Election of New Executive and Editorial Board;
New Business.

Monday, September 1, 1975.

10:00 AM - 12:00 PM
Meeting of incoming and outgoing executives.

НА ПРЕСФОНД СТУДЕНТА ЗЛОЖИЛИ:

$100.00
Future Bakery
So-Use Credit Union

$50.00
P. Boshyk
Y. Botiuk
R. Cholkan
O. Kuplowsky
R. Paladijchuk

$30.00
Firchuk's Textiles

$25.00
Astro Travel
P. Boshyk
M. Kopystansky
Niagara Jewellers
Ontario Meat Mkt.
Shumsky Jewellers
Dr. Sochaniwskyj
Ukrainian Art Ceramic Centre

$20.00
Arka, Queen St.

$15.00
Medycky Textiles

$10.00
Denison Hardware
Dr. Hlibovich
L. Markevych
Metro Fabrics
Ry-Port Meats
Unity Grill
Watch Repairs 486½ Queen St.
W. H. Lake Hardware
Witer's Meat Market
W. Sidlar

$6.00
Y. Brygidyr

$5.00
D. Broda
A. Dolnycky
Dr. Maleckyj
Mary's Flower Shop
Pawitch Meat Market
S. Serna

$2.00
Panama Shoes

$1.00
Boychuk Real Estate
V. Shushak

Continued from page

> ...that we do not want an immigration policy that discriminates on the basis of race, colour, or creed. Let me go one step further. I, personally, would not live with a policy that discrininated on racial grounds, nor could my collegues in Government.[26]

Nonetheless, the fact that racism was alluded to in the Green Paper is a problem. Such allusions risk the danger of provoking latent racist attitudes. The Ukrainian Canadian community must come out strongly against such attitudes. We must not forget that only a generation ago, Manitoba's Ukrainians were ridiculed as ignorant peasants. Prior to this, the Ukrainians were often referred to as "white niggers." Thus as former victims of discrimination, we should be in the forefront of the attack on the obscenity of racism.

If immigration policy is to be non-discriminatory, Canada will increasingly represent a cross-section of the world. A world that is overwhelmingly and increasingly non-white. We must start planning for a multiracial society, so that our ability to "adjust" to non-white immigration will not appear so "astonishing."

Another question on which the Ukrainian Canadian community must take a strong stand is the refugee question. In this case, a strong position in support of refugee assistance is the most appropriate position (especially in light of our community's experience with refugee problems). The complication that arises is exactly what form of assistance should be offered to refugees?

Canada does not have an unlimited capacity to absorb refugees; its humanitarian absorptive capacity is limited. Thus, in certain situations, alternatives are required to the traditional offering of resettlement opportunities in Canada to refugees. For example, a policy of resettlement would have been of minimal benefit to the ten million persons displaced by the 1971 Bangladesh conflict, since Canada would have been able to take only a small percentage of these people. Therefore, I would agree with the Green Paper when it suggests that financial or material assistance may be the most appropriate way to assist refugees in certain cases.[27]

A final aspect of the Green Paper that I wish to discuss is the section dealing with the options available in the formulation of future immigration policy.[28]

The present system does not set in advance, the number of visas to be issued over a particular time period. An important problem with this approach is that it does not assure that immigration will consistently respect national priorities. This and other drawbacks suggest that there must be a change in the present system (though its non-discrimnatory nature must be retained).

The second option suggests that the immigration programme should be used more specifically to meet economic and labour market objectives. The main problem with this is that it would make the retention of nominated immigrant status an untenable position. As I mentioned earlier, before such an option is exercised, there must be a body of facts indicating that such a change is necessary for the well-being of Canadians. At the present time, such a body of facts seems to be developing. If this trend should continue, then some modification in nominated immigrant status can be expected from the government.

Yet neither of these two options is useful in determining an equitable geographic distribution of visa-processing facilities abroad. This leads us to the last two options.

Of the two, the fourth option is the preferable one. Following this option, Canada would establish an annual global ceiling of immigrants. Within this global ceiling there would be priorities in regards to the issuance of visas to different categories of immigrants.

The third option, while also setting a global ceiling, would go further and set regional and possibly country-by-country quotas. However, there would be many difficult problems in developing a formula for allocating visa quotas among regions and countries. The fourth option, while avoiding the problems of the third option, retains the third option's positive feature. Specifically, a global ceiling set in advance allows immigration policy to be related to the planning of national demographic population growth policies.

Thus the immigration policy adopted from among the options offered in the Green Paper, would probably be based on the fourth option with elements of the first two options, especially the non-discrimnatory nature of the present policy's point system.

What are the implications of all the factors discussed up until now on the Ukrainian Canadian community?

Obviously any Ukrainian immigration to Canada, other than refugee and sponsored immigration, will be governed by the immediately above factors. However such immigration is not likely to take place of its own accord, judging from the almost non-existent Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the last ten years. Therefore, in order to have Ukrainian immigration it is necessary to encourage people of Ukrainian background to immigrate to Canada from other western countries. (It is highly unlikely, at the present time that the Soviet authorities will allow large scale immigration from Ukraine.)

The main reason given for encouraging this immigration is that it will enhance the Ukrainian Canadian community, especially in the light of the decline of the Ukrainian Canadian birth-rate.

As with the French language, the Ukrainian language has been losing out to the English language. But, though the probeln is similar, the solution is not necessarily similar. Unlike fracophone immigration, immigrants with a Ukrainian heritage will probably not have Ukrainian as their first language. In fact, they might be unable to speak Ukrainian. Thus the question arises, is all the expenditure of energy and resources needed to encourage this immigration, and to assist the immigrants once they have arrived in Canada, worthwhile?

Perhaps a cost-benefit analysis would show that it is better to concentrate on developing the human resources that presently exist in Canada. At any rate this question must be seriously considered before any massive immigration campaigns are launched.

In the long-run, however, immigration is not the answer for Ukrainian Canadian existence. The Ukrainian culture and language in Canada will survive the pressures of English-speaking North America only if they have qualities desirable in themselves. Therefore I would once more like to emphasize that our future depends on our investing in human as opposed to material resources. As it stands now we have many an empty cultural centre, and unvisited statue, but almost no community workers.

In conclusion, I would like to state that in this paper I have briefly touched upon only a few of the issues raised by the Green Paper on Immigration.

I hope to be able to discuss these and other points with you in more detail during the discussion period.

Notes

1 J. Johnson, "A terrified Ottawa spurns hard questions," Globe and Mail, February 6, 1975.

2 Department of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Policy Perspectives, Canadian Immigration and Population Study. Vol. I. (1974), p. 13.

3 Ibid., p.1.

4 Concerning immigration's role; see, ibid., p.3.

5 Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Public Consultation on Population Question, (1974) p.17.

6 Ibid., p.27.

7 Immigration Policy Perspectives, p.4.

8 F. Jones, "Immigration: Is it black vs. white?" Toronto Star, October 26, 1974.

9 Editorial. "Rare opportunity," Calgary Herald, February 6, 1975.

10 Immigration Policy Perspective, p.5.

11 Concerning other sources, see, Y. Danchko, [illegible] Immigration and Population Policy: [illegible] (Unpublished, 1975).
As for the second point, because of the uncertainty involved in projecting immigration policy is necessary so that the changing factors can be taken into account. This could occur under the auspices of a National Population Study Group involving the federal and provincial governments, as well as appropriate non-governmental organizations.

12 J. Cray, "Immigration irks Andras as policy plans readied," Ottawa Citizen, February 1, 1975.

13 Immigration Policy Perspective, p.22.

Continued on page

freedom for political prisoners

Members of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR in Chicago, Illinois intervened on behalf of Soviet and Eastern European political prisoners during the Peoples Bicentennial Festival and the 21st National Convention of the Communist Party (USA), held in Chicago, Illinois, June 26 - 29, 1975, by presenting this open letter to the participants.

On the occasion of the Peoples Bicentennial Festival and the 21st National Convention of the Communist Party (USA), we call upon you, the participants to join us in our Appeal for an end to political repression.

We believe that political repression in any country and the imprisonment of political opponents is in contradicition to the program of your party. We therefore, call upon you to join us in demanding the release of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, Spain, Ireland, Chile and Czechoslovakia.

Although we cannot support the views of certain prisoners, specifically of some in the USSR, we insist upon their right to civil liberties.

Alan Amato	Paul Meyer
Daniel Berrigan	Dick Murray
Phil Berrigan	Grace Paley
Paul Booth	William Pelz
Nat Hentoff	Richard Rubenstein
Julius Jacobsen	Dick Simpson
Alfred Klinger	Studs Terkel
David McReynolds	Virgil Vogel
Saul Mendelson	

We are pointing out repressions in the USSR on this occasion, since we together with the Communist Party (USA) defend political prisoners in Chile, we have opposed the war in Vietnam etc., but unlike some Communist Parties the Communist Party (USA) has refused to admit to the existence of political prisoners in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (of which there are well over 15,000), or when admitting to the existence of prisoners, it would label them as fascists, "bourgeois nationalists" or "enemies of the state". A clear example of the political repression which prevails in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe can be seen in the case of Vyacheslav Chornovil.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, former member of the editorial board of the Komsomol newspaper - Moloda Gvardia was arrested in July, 1966 for refusing to testify at a closed trial of four dissidents in Lviv, Ukraine. He was sentenced to three months imprisonment. Arrested again in August, 1967, he was sentenced to three years imprisonment under Article 187-1 of the Constitution of the USSR - "The sustematic oral circulation of known falsehoods to the Soviet state and social system...". His sentence was reduced to eighteen months. He is most noted for The Chornovil Papers, a collection of documents which expose the 1965-66 secret trials. For protesting the arrests of other individuals in the Soviet Union, Chornovil was arrested in January, 1972. After being illegally detained for over a year, his trial took place in camera in February, 1973. He is presently serving his sentence of seven years at hard labor and five years exile in Mordovia. Since his imprisonment Chornovil has taken part in prison strikes, been placed in solitary confinement and pressured to recant his views.

Giving us a glimpse of his views, Chornovil in a letter from prison on May 3, 1968 wrote: "I categorically state, contrary to all illogical assertions, that I have always firmly adhered to the principles of socialism and continue to do so. But not of that socialism which tries to regiment not merely the actions but also the thoughts of the individual. I can not imagine true socialism without guaranteed democratic freedoms, without the widest political and economic self-government of all the cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest, without a real guarantee - not merely a paper one - of the rights of all nations within a multi-national state."

Examples of other oppositionists in the Soviet Union demanding the regime to implement provisions of the constitution and supposed basic principles of the Soviet Union are: four Soviet Ukrainian women political prisoners from labour camp #3 at Barashevo, Mordovia ASSR were denied by camp authorities a request proposing that their wages from the hard labour camp be assigned to a fund for victims of the Chilean junta, or workers who in May, 1969 went on strike with slogans demanding the return of power to the local soviet. Events of the above mentioned character have repeated themselves hundreds of times in the past few years.

Therefore, we appeal to you, the participants of this weekend's activities, particularly Angela Davis, a victim of repression in this country, to defend your true comrades in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe by demanding an immediate end to all politically motivated incarcerations in mental institutions and prisons and for the implementation of those same rights which you struggle for in your own country and elsewhere.

"Anyone who persecutes a man who exposes a crime defends the criminal. Could the most inveterate anti-communist conjecture a more effective method of subverting communism in the ideological struggle with the West?...Ideological battles are won only through the use of ideological weapons. Sentencings will not help in this manner; on the contrary, they will only do harm."

-Valentyn Moroz
Kiev, KGB prison
December 10, 1968

cont'd from page 16

[14] Concerning the three classifications of immigrants; see, Department of Manpower and Immigration, The Immigration Program, Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Vol.II, (1974), pp.39-60.

[15] Immigration Policy Perspectives, p.43.

[16] T. Barkway, "The old system is not working any more," Financial Times of Canada, February 24, 1975.

[17] Department of Manpower and Immigration, Three Years in Canada, Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Vol.I, (1974), pp.12-13.

[18] Immigration Policy Perspectives, pp.13-17.

[19] Ibid., p.14.

[20] Editorial, "Not the answer," Ottawa Citizen, February 5, 1975.

[21] The Immigration Program, p.134.

[22] Immigration Policy Perspectives, p.56.

[23] Ibid., p.13.

[24] Ibid., p.16.

[25] Ibid., p.12.

[26] Office of the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, Notes for Luncheon Address to Publishers and Editors of Multi-Language Newspapers, Toronto, February , 1975, p.4.

[27] Immigration Policy Perspectives, p.51. In deciding what form of assistance should be offered in a given instance, it would assist the government in reaching a just decision if it, the government, consulted the appropriate Canadian ethno-cultural community on this question (*e.g.* the Ukrainian Canadian community about Ukrainian refugees).

[28] Concerning the options available; see, ibid., pp. 42-46.

RES. 763-1000 BUS. 766-6691

M. Kopystansky

UKRAINIAN ART CERAMIC CENTRE
2388 BLOOR STREET WEST
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

cont'd from page 6

4) Non-Ukrainian groupings: attempts should be made by the National Executive to establish working contacts with non-Ukrainian groupings.

5) Every executive of a Ukrainian club should create a position on the executive for an individual to be responsible for defense work in that club. This person is responsible for the following:
a) shall inform the club of recent developments in Ukraine.
b) shall be responsible for the club informing the community of its activities on the question of Ukraine.
c) shall be responsible for the co-ordination of educational seminars speaker tours and the like.
d) shall be responsible for developing contacts with non-Ukrainian groupings who defend democratic rights and political prisoners.
e) shall be responsible to the SUSK vice-president of Human Rights.

A LOST PAGE OF HISTORY

Stanley W. Frolick

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"REVIEW".

One of the least known but most fascinating chapters of Ukrainian-Canadian history concerns the activities of the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau: cable address: Curb, London; postal address: 218 Sussex Gardens, Paddington, London, W. 2, U.K.

Who, apart from former Ukrainian displaced persons, has heard of the Bureau or knows anything about it? Even the Ukrainian-language, second volume, "History of Ukrainian Canadians," contains only the briefest references:

> In August-September of that year [i.e., 1945], a permanent representative body in the form of the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau was formed in London, in the organization of which Ukrainian soldiers of the Canadian Army on the spot, greatly helped (p. 266).

> The Central Bureau in London, which worked very intensively at helping our countrymen, basically transferred its work to the British Zone of Germany in 1947, and in Lengo, later in Bielefeld, created a Relief Mission of the Fund [i.e., Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund] (p. 267).

> Persons connected with the Bureau in London were such as B. Panchuk, A. Yaremovich, S. Frolick, D. Skoropadsky, S. Korostovets and other outstanding personalities (p.268).

The truly amazing activities and accomplishments of a handful of highly motivated, dedicated, and zealous individuals who conceived the Bureau and guided its work over a two-year span from 1945 to 1947 is the stuff of which films are made and books written--in other societies, that is. We will leave it to future writers and researchers to determine the reasons why and by whom an apparent veil has been drawn around an institution whose achievements and very existence are today largely unknown or poorly recorded. As a participant, I find it difficult, for instance, to agree with the following statement of the author of the above-mentioned "History of Ukrainian Canadians," concerning the genesis of the Bureau: "Already in June 1945, the question arose before the Fund to transform the London club house of Ukrainian soldiers into a centre for relief to Ukrainian political emigres in Europe" (p. 266).

The truth is that with the war in Europe grinding to an end, Ukrainian-Canadian servicemen in western Europe brought back to the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association (UCSA) in London stories of having met, under various conditions and in differing circumstances, Ukrainian slave laborers (so-called "Ost Arbeiters") on the continent. With VE day, the full horror of the Nazis' black deeds was revealed. The existence of these displaced persons was confirmed and more information came in torrents, indicating there were thousands, perhaps more than a million Ukrainians, in the former Third Reich and its occupied territories, consisting of labor conscriptees, armed forces' draftees, survivors of German concentration camps, and thousands upon thousands of political refugees from the red 'paradise' of Bolshevism.

With the cessation of hostilities, the various provisions of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements came to light. The carrying out of only one aspect of these agreements, the repatriation of nationals, led to Dantesque scenes of horror, in which former Soviet citizens and those alleged to be so resisted forcible repatriation with all the means at their disposal, including mass suicides. From reading Solzhenitzyn's **Gulag Archipelago**, even the greatest skeptic now knows what was in store for all repatriated personnel. Even members of the Red Army, captured by the Germans on the eastern front, found their return marred by incarceration for ten years (or more) in the concentration camps of the Soviet penal archipelago.

It became apparent that the immediate creation of an organization to help the Ukrainian refugees and displaced persons demanded the highest priority and most urgent action. On the initiative of the UCSA, the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau (CURB) came into existence with G.R.B. Panchuk as director and S.W. Frolick as secretary general. The latter succeeded Panchuk upon his discharge and return to Canada. Others most closely associated with the CURB, both in its formative stages and in its developing role as a coordinating body of all Ukrainian relief work, were: Drs. M.E. Lucyk, M. Kapusta and P. Smylski, J.R. Romanow, S. Davidovich, George Lycky], William Byblow, and Mrs. A. Panchuk. Others who gave valuable service were: Drs. S. de Korostovec, D. Melnyk and Frank Martyniuk, Miss A. Crapleve, Miss Helen Kozicky, P. Stefaniuk, M. Checknita, Rev. M. Horoshko, Rev. Symchych, S. Jaworsky, and A. Yaremovich. Many other servicemen stationed in other parts of the United Kingdom and on the continent gave casual help. The paid clerical staff consisted of one English language secretary and one Ukrainian secretary, Mrs. Kowalska.

A very cursory outline of the Bureau's activities may give the reader a glimpse of the many-faceted role played by the Bureau during a most perilous period of Ukrainian-Canadian history.

ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

First and foremost, recognition was sought and obtained from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Ukrainian American Congress Committee. With these Ukrainian umbrella organizations forming united relief organizations--The Ukrainian-Canadian Relief Fund and the United Ukrainian-American Relief Committee--the CURB became a joint European outpost for these relief committees and a means for channelling material aid. The CURB was an instrument for directing relief and political policies aimed at winning recognition of the rights of displaced persons to choose their own future, including the right of asylum and the matter of eventual resettlement with all that that implied.

Secondly, the displaced persons themselves created local, regional, and state relief committees on the territory of Germany under Allied occupation. Thus there was a control relief committee for Austria (Dr. Roslak, Y. Spolsky), the American zone of occupation and the whole of Germany (W. Mudry, Prof. Vietuchiw, Mr. Milanych, Dr. Wojewidka, Dr. Andrievsky and others), and the British zone of occupation. The Ukrainian communities in France (Rev. Perridon, Dr. N. Procyk, Mr. Popovich); in Belgium (Hrab, Mulkewytsch, and Pryschlak); in Switzerland (Bachynsky and Beran); in Italy and elsewhere also established their committees.

The Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau became the overall coordinating body of all the continental, the two North American committees, and the two South American Ukrainian relief committees in Argentina and Brazil. It called two conferences in Paris of representatives of the various relief organizations, and one in Belgium.

The Bureau also became a clearing house and intermediary between individual displaced persons and their relatives on the North American continent and elsewhere, transmitting correspondence, food, medical, and clothing packages to the displaced persons' camps.

To accomplish this, a network of contact men serving in the American, Canadian, and other Allied forces stationed in various places on the continent was established. It must be remembered that no mail service, apart from military postal service, was available, and no civilian airlines, trains, or other means of public transport or locomotion were yet functioning. All letters and parcels had to be addressed to a serviceman and sent through the facilities of an armed forces' field post office, to be delivered by hand to the ultimate recipient. Pilots and air force personnel of Ukrainian descent were also pressed into service and prevailed upon to take correspondence, literature, parcels, newspapers, etc. with them on their flights to various airfields in western Europe, where they were delivered to local people for further distribution.

In the office of the CURB hung a large map of western Europe, studded with multi-colored and numbered pins, each identifying our military contact men, including their rank, number and field post office address. Ukrainian-American military personnel, as well as Ukrainians serving with the Polish armed forces, with General Anders in Italy, and with the 2nd Polish armored division in northern Germany were also recruited for this purpose.

An elaborate filing system and cross-index was devised by J. R. Romanow to enable instant retrieval of any file dealing with any serviceman or civilian in a displaced persons' camp, or elsewhere in Europe, North America, South America, or wherever Ukrainians with whom the Bureau had any contact or correspondence lived.

A further monumental task--a census--aimed at getting the most accurate data on all Ukrainian displaced persons in western Europe was undertaken. To this end, a suitable questionnaire was prepared and mimeographed copies were sent to all displaced persons' camps and refugees living outside the camps.

Amazingly, despite the existing post-war conditions and the prevailing mood of fear, uncertainty, and despair, most of the questionnaires were filled out and returned to the Bureau in London. They furnished a clear picture of most of the refugees as to age, occupation, education, place of origin, relations in North America, and preference as to country of future emigration.

POLITICAL WORK

Although this may be a misnomer for the type of activities included under this heading, some attempt was made to educate, publicize, explain, and seek a just understanding of and humanitarian assistance for the plight of the refugees known to the CURB. These activities were directed not only at public opinion generally, but Ukrainian communities in the free world who had been cut off from all contacts with events in Ukraine from 1939 to 1945. Major efforts, however, were directed at the British public and British military and political authorities. Not only were these the most accessible to the personnel of the Bureau in London, but Great Britain was one of the victorious allies and its voice and influence was then decisive in the councils of the free world.

Newspaper Clipping Service. The Bureau subscribed to a newspaper clipping service which provided it with all articles and newspaper items published in any British newspaper or magazine which dealt in any way or made reference in any way to "Ukraine" or "Ukrainians." Packets of newspaper clippings were received daily, perused, used in appropriate ways, and then filed. I believe that this was a unique use of newspaper clippings, never before or since resorted to by any Ukrainian organization.

The Press. Largely from information available through the newspaper clipping service, the Bureau fed supplementary or contrary information to the press, wrote letters to the editors, and tried to influence British contacts to counter unfavorable or misinformed reports with objective or favorable information.

Ukrainian Information Service. It soon became very evident that to conduct effective relief and charitable work, and to save the refugees not only from material want but, more importantly, from being forcibly repatriated to

the USSR, it was necessary to win over the 'powers that be' and to get them to present our case. It was equally evident that allied leaders and the British public were abysmally ignorant of "the Ukrainian question," i.e., the political history of Ukraine, the Ukrainians, and their historic struggle for freedom. Soviet charges that Ukrainians collaborated with the Nazis, that the displaced persons and refugees who resisted repatriation to their "homeland" did so because they were "war criminals" who feared "just retribution and justice" at the hands of their "compatriots" for their wartime "crimes" made considerable inroads among the British, French, and particularly the Americans, and these had to be met. Themselves impatient to get home on the earliest available transport (now that the war was over), Allied personnel just could not understand why the Ukrainians not only did not want to "go home," but often cut their wrists or chose other forms of suicide to avoid forced repatriation. Accordingly, G.I.s and Tommies, often by force and the indiscriminate use of rifle butts, helped their Soviet counterparts to round up 'their' recalcitrant peoples and ship them off on Soviet trucks to repatriation centres in the Russian zone.

To counteract this insidious Russian propaganda, it was necessary to convey to the leaders and public at least a modicum of Ukrainian history, past and present. It was imperative to bring to light the wartime role of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) against the Nazi invaders of Ukrainian soil. It was necessary to show that, far from collaborating with the German invaders, the Ukrainian people waged a fierce struggle for freedom and that the UPA epic was equal to, if not even more heroic than, the deeds of the French Maquis and other underground freedom-fighting organizations elsewhere under German occupation.

It was necessary to explain and place in proper focus and context such phenomena as the interned division "Galicia" in Rimini, Italy, and the existence of the "Ukrainske Vyzvolne Viysko," German army units composed of Ukrainian Red Army POWs. (Such national detachments, composed of Russians and other Soviet nationalities, were created by the Germans towards the end of the war. To understand the reasons for their existance, see **Gulag Archipelago**).

Hence, the "Ukrainian Information Service" was created as an adjunct to the CURB, disseminating regular news bulletins and other material on a sporadic basis to the British press and to individual subscribers, as well as to Ukrainian language newspapers throughout the free world.

It was primarily due to the efforts of the CURB (and the actions undertaken vis-à-vis their respective governments by the UCC and the Congress Committee) that the Galicia division was not handed over to the Soviet military occupational authorities, although it was not possible to avoid that difficult fate for the Ukrainian prisoners of war who had served in the nationality units of the German Wehrmacht, some of whom were interned in the U.K.

Political Contacts. The work of the Bureau in winning influential friends was made easier by the fact that both Dr. V.J. Kaye and Mr. S. Davidovich had, before the war, headed Ukrainian Information Bureaus in London. Of help also were the contacts established and maintained by Danylo Skoropadsky and Dr. S. De Korostovets, both residents of England. As a result, the Bureau had access to a group of Conservative and Labor members of Parliament and peers in the Upper House to help formulate and direct British policy in questions affecting refugees. On several occasions, specific matters were raised in parliamentary debate and the Hansards were filed. Other influential friendships were cultivated by members of the Bureau joining private British clubs, where British political issues are frequently resolved, where additional contacts are made and established friends are invited to tea (the traditional British way of doing business).

Identity Documents. The times were so unique during the interregnum between the fall of the Third German Reich and the reconstitution of civil authority on German soil, and the urgency to extend help to desperate refugees so great, that certain acts had to be done which are stranger than fiction. Among these were barging into the meeting place of the United Nations Organization in London and 'appropriating' a list of delegates, and participating in an unauthorized representative capacity at various meetings (Pax Roman, Memorandum to the U.N.O., repatriation committees), of which more later.

Perhaps the strangest situations arose because displaced persons lacked identification papers, or should one say, the right kind of (i.e., non-Soviet) identity papers to save them from being handed over to the Soviets for repatriation. The Bureau, and on occasion even its individual members, issued such 'passports.' Curiously enough, in the general confusion of the time, many of these documents were accepted and, indeed, saved the lives of countless persons.

At times, identity documents were obtained from the Polish Military Mission in Paris. For refugees and displaced persons in France, documents were issued by Mr. Popovich of the Ukrainian Relief Committee in France. His association with certain French trade unions made his task easier, for documents were difficult to obtain because pro-Soviet sentiments in post-war France were very strong.

Aside from helping individuals to obtain legal status, the Bureau had to legitimize the Ukrainian Relief Committees and other organizations on the former territory of the Reich. Lacking recognition and 'official standing,' these organizations were frequently ignored or told they could **not** function by official bodies such as the IRO, UNRRA, military governments and even some camp administrations.

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